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# China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 365

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22 November 1982

# CHINA REPORT

## POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 365

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## PARTY AND STATE

### FORUMS ON PARTY CONGRESS HELD

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 16 Sep 82 p 1

[Report: "Party Organizations at Various Levels Hold Forums, Briefing Sessions: Uphold the New Central Organs of Leadership, Resolutely Realize Unity and Cooperation Between New and Old Leaders"]

[Text] The triumphant close of the 12th Party Congress and the birth of the new central organs of leadership have added new joy to the urban and rural populace of our province. Party organizations at various levels and the vast ranks of the party members, cadres and masses have profusely held forums and briefing sessions to indicate their support and love for the Party Central Committee; they are determined, under the leadership of the Party Central Committee, to make even greater contributions to the opening up of an overall new situation in the construction of our socialist modernization.

People think that the birth of the party's supreme leadership organs has realized the unity, cooperation and transition between the new and old cadres; it is the indicator of our party's vigorous growth and prosperous development, and it is bound to play an instrumental role in bringing prosperity to our socialist cause. Members of the party committee of the No 1 steel rolling plant of the Anshan Steel and Iron Works, which earned the glorious title of advanced party committee, felt extremely excited upon hearing the communique of the First Plenary Session of the 12th Party Central Committee; beginning 13 September they led the staff and workers of the whole plant to launch the ten-day high-yield period to produce 10,000 tons daily. The first day, they strived to achieve a production of 10,043 tons. Comrades of the Fushun, Benxi, and Fuxin municipal party committees and the Chaoyang regional party committee and Kuandian county party committee said, the party Central Committee has established an example for our party organizations at various levels; we too must make the best use of time, broaden our outlook, push aside various obstacles, promote exemplary middle-aged and young cadres to our leadership posts as rapidly as possible, and realize making the leading groups at various levels revolutionary, younger, knowledgeable, and professional. The Benxi municipal party committee also stressed that, in selecting middle-aged and young cadres, they must break away from the traditional method of succession by appraising qualifications and seniority. The municipality had already selected 42 middle-aged and young cadres at the county level and above, they wanted to select another group before the end of this year to enable the

leading groups of the municipality's party organizations at various levels to meet the requirements of the construction of the four modernizations.

Many old comrades who have shouldered leadership work have expressed admiration for the lofty outlook of certain prestigious older-generation proletarian revolutionaries of the Party Central Committee who give no thought to their own reputation and personal gains, give prominence to the cause of the party and the interests of the state, yield important leadership posts to younger comrades, while they themselves take the initiative to retreat to the second line. They are determined to learn from the old revolutionaries of the central authorities and, while they are still healthy and functioning, select as soon as possible their successors, support the new cadres' work, and serve well as their consultants. Secretary of the Dalian municipal party committee Du Li [2629 2621] indicated at a meeting of the standing committee of the municipal party committee that he himself was already old, and weak from frequent illness, so he was willing to retreat to the second line and let the middle-aged and young cadres take over the heavy burdens. Some middle-aged and young cadres who have just embarked upon the leadership posts have proceeded in keeping with their own process of growth to study the communique of the First Plenary Session; they have further felt the care of the Party Central Committee and the love of the old cadres for them and are determined not to disappoint the expectations of the Party Central Committee and the older revolutionaries and dedicate all they have to the party and the people. Wu Guojin [0702 0948 6855], the young cadre who was promoted in April this year to manager of the Jinzhou municipal food service company, has made even stricter demands on himself: First, he must study the rich experiences of the old comrades, their glorious traditions, and their fine workstyle; second, he must strictly discipline himself, and seek no personal privileges; third, he must be daring and innovative and not remain satisfied with just watching the stall and sticking to the old line; and fourth, he must refrain from becoming arrogant and attempt to serve forever as a servant of the people.

When the Fuxin municipal party committee and the Tieling regional party committee studied the communique of the First Plenary Session of the 12th Party Central Committee, they summed up their own experience and lessons in building their basic-level leading groups and stressed that, while readjusting these groups, the "five kinds of people" should never be allowed to sneak into the leadership posts so as to guarantee the purity of the leading groups and the solidarity of their political power and make our party's leading groups at various levels the strong core of the construction of our four modernizations.

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CSO: 4005/59

## PARTY AND STATE

### GAINS SINCE 1978 PROVE CORRECTNESS OF PARTY LINE

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 16 Sep 82 p 2

[Article by Xu Shaofu [1776 1421 3940]: "Correct Line, Great Change"]

[Text] Our party has triumphantly convened its 12th Congress; this was the most important meeting since the Seventh Party Congress. The congress summed up the achievements of victory of the historic change realized since the smashing of the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique, especially since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, and put forward the party's magnificent goals and fighting tasks during the new historical period. Studying the documents of the congress enables me to get a profound education and become deeply encouraged; it helps me to heighten my perception, clarify my orientation, and enhance my confidence.

Liaoning has been an "area of grave disaster," suffering the sabotage of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques. Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the Liaoning Provincial Party Committee, under the successive leadership of Comrades Ren Zhongyi [0117 6850 1138] and Guo Feng [6753 1496] has led the vast ranks of the province's party members, cadres, and masses in resolutely implementing the party's line, principles, and policies, in following the Party Central Committee's plan, and in proceeding to return to order from disorder and promote the overall development of industry and agriculture in order to eliminate the serious consequences brought about by the sabotage of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques, to cleanse away the influence of the mistakes of the "leftist" guiding ideology, and to realize the shift in the focus of our work and implement our principles of readjustment, restructuring, consolidation, and improvement. It has given better scope to the role of Liaoning as a base for heavy industry, has adopted a series of decisive measures, and has achieved very great results. Profound changes have thus taken place in various respects: political stability and unity have been realized, there has been a steady increase in our industrial and agricultural production, and our party workstyle, social customs, and social order and security are all turning gradually for the better. During the past few years, we have implemented the "three adherences" according to the Marxist ideological line, political line, and organizational line as determined anew by the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, and we have achieved conspicuous results.



First, ideologically we have adhered to educating the vast ranks of our party members and cadres with the spirit of the Third Plenary Session in order to rectify our ideological line. Through our discussion of the criteria for testing truth and our study of the Resolution of the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee and related central documents, we have unified the thinking of the vast ranks of our party members and cadres under the line of the Third Plenary Session and have taken as an important condition for examining the performance of our cadres whether or not they have resolutely implemented the line of the Third Plenary Session. At present our leading cadres at various levels have deeply absorbed the line of the Third Plenary Session; an important guarantee that they can do various kinds of work well. Although a very small number of party members and cadres still remain muddled in their understanding or even have adopted an attitude of suspicion and resistance, and although there also have been certain individual "three kinds of persons" attempting sabotage against us, they have never been able to play a decisive role.

Second, politically we have adhered to returning to order from disorder and reversing the right and wrong once turned around by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques. This has been chiefly reflected in the following: (1) We have gone deep into launching struggle to expose and criticize the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques. We have unrestrictedly mobilized the masses, pushed aside all obstacles, found out the people and events related to the usurpation of the party and to the seizure of power by the "gang of four," destroyed the forces of bourgeois factions and cliques, and achieved a decisive victory in the struggle. (2) We have rectified a large number of cases of unjust, false, and erroneous litigation. Of the nearly 300,000 cadres and masses who were erroneously determined to have had an enemy character, or who were dealt with according to an erroneous determination of enemy character in the province during the "Cultural Revolution," more than 99 percent have already been rectified. (3) We have readjusted and reinforced leading groups at various levels and have gotten a close grip on the constructive work of making the ranks of our cadres revolutionary, younger, more knowledgeable, and more professional. Since 1980, more than 4,600 fine middle-age and young cadres across the province have been promoted to enter leading groups at county level or above. (4) We have energetically worked at setting our party workstyle aright and rectifying our party organizations. Through studying the "Guiding Principles" and the "Resolution," we have carried out party rectification at points selected for experiment, a general inspection of our party workstyle and party discipline, and rectification of the various trades and professions, thereby rigorously arresting unhealthy practices and reinforcing the education of our party members and cadres and the construction of our party organizations at the basic level. Since last year, the Shenyang Municipal Party Committee has energetically undertaken to oppose such devious practices as making private gains by taking advantage of one's own power, obtaining commodities in short supply by entering through the backdoor, occupying more housing than necessary, converting one's agricultural status to nonagricultural status and enabling a rural family to move to the city, and indulging in unscrupulous entertainment. [The committee] thereby has succeeded in educating the party members and cadres, improving the relationship between the party and the

masses, and raising the party's prestige and credibility. At present, it is carrying out an overall, comprehensive straightening-out task in the rectification of our party workstyle. (5) We have conscientiously implemented our party's policy toward intellectuals. We have carried out a general inspection of our work on intellectuals, heightened the understanding of leading cadres at various levels on the status and role of intellectuals in the new era, and rectified the erroneous tendency of discriminating against and excluding intellectuals. More than 2,200 high-ranking and intermediate intellectuals throughout the province have already come to shoulder leadership tasks at various levels. (6) We have rectified urban and rural order and security, carried out a penetrating education in the legal system, and actively launched our comprehensive rectification work. During the past 4 years, the number of cases of criminal offenses has been decreasing, with those during the first half of this year 21.5 percent less than those of the corresponding period last year. This has enabled our social customs and order and security to gradually make a turn for the better.

Third, in economic work we have adhered to breaking through the constraint of "leftist" guiding ideology, emancipating our thinking, seeking truth from facts, and doing a good job in our economic construction according to the conditions in China and Liaoning Province. Since 1979, we have put emphasis on enlivening our economy under the guidance of uniform planning by the state, and have dared to resort to acquiring wealth through labor. Later on, we actively promoted the production responsibility system in agriculture according to the spirit of central directives; 98 percent of all production teams in the province have now put into practice various forms of the production responsibility system, and this has greatly mobilized the peasants' enthusiasm for production. During these past 3 years, the overall output value of our agriculture has increased by 24.2 percent, with a yearly average increase of 7.5 percent. Last year, while we suffered serious calamities of both flood and drought, our total foodgrain output still amounted to 23.2 billion jin; this made it the year of our second highest yield. Because we have implemented the "eight-character" policy, the province's industrial readjustment work has already shown preliminary results. Light industry, especially the production of articles for daily consumption, has gained rather considerable development. During these past 3 years, the total output value of our light industrial products has increased by 163.7 percent. Progress has been made in our industrial readjustment and in the technical transformation of our old enterprises. Our economic results have begun to improve. During the first 5 months of this year, the costs of products of the 79 enterprises in the province which have undergone consolidation decreased by 1.26 percent compared to those of the corresponding period last year; the profits they submitted increased by 13.5 percent. Under the principle of adhering to the dominant position of our state-run economy, we have put emphasis on developing a variety of economic forms and have expanded avenues of employment for our laborers. During these past 3 years we have succeeded in placing more than 2.28 million city and township personnel who had been awaiting employment. The livelihood of our urban and rural people has thus improved further. According to sample surveys, the net income of each peasant in 1981 increased by 65 percent over that of 1978. During these past 3 years, the average wages of the staff and workers at enterprises owned by all the people increased by 21.6 percent. City and township housing space completed during these past 3 years amounted

to 18.35 million square meters; housing built in the countryside during the past 2 years amounted to more than 30 million square meters. Thus the state of short supply of residential housing for our urban and rural residents has become mollified.

The achievement of the above results fully proves that the party's line, principles, and policies since its Third Plenary Session have been entirely correct. From practice we have come to realize: First, the great historical turning point did not begin until the Third Plenary Session. The smashing of the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique created the conditions for the realization of this great shift. But during the 2 years prior to the Third Plenary Session, right and wrong in our party's guiding ideology were still not clarified as they should have been; our efforts to return to order from disorder remained in a state of hesitation and wavering. The great historic merit of the Third Plenary Session lies in fundamentally breaking through the serious constraint of long-standing "leftist" mistakes, in rectifying our party's guiding ideology, and in establishing anew our Marxist ideological line, political line, and organizational line. Without the Third Plenary Session, it would have been impossible to realize the great historic shift and there would have been no fine situation as prevails today, nor would it have been possible for the magnificent goals of struggle to be put forward and realized. Second, the triumphant realization of this great historic shift has been rather hard to come by. Just as Comrade Yaobang pointed out in his report, looking back at the process of our fighting during the past 6 years, what we have traversed has not been an even road. While implementing the line of the Third Plenary Session, we have encountered all kinds of interference. It was precisely under the correct leadership of the Party Central Committee that we launched in time an ideological struggle against the two fronts of "left" and rightist deviation, thereby making it possible for us to quite properly solve certain rather complicated ideological problems and social and political contradictions. Implementation of the principles and tasks determined by the 12th Party Congress is also likely to encounter obstacles and interference. We must adhere to the four basic principles, adhere to the correct line since the Third Plenary Session, and further develop the province's fine situation in our new, great practice. Third, conscientiously implementing the spirit of the 12th Party Congress is a continuation of our implementation of the correct line since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. Comrade Yaobang pointed out in his report that the principles and tasks to be determined by this congress are the consolidation and development of the correct line since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. Their contents are even richer and more in accord with reality. At present, we must conscientiously study the documents of the 12th Party Congress, further unify the thinking of the vast ranks of our cadres and masses under the spirit of the 12th Party Congress and the correct line since the Third Plenary Session, catch up with the plans of the Party Central Committee, and do our best to open up a new situation in the construction of our socialist modernization in Liaoning.

Today, the province's political and economic situations are both fine. While our agricultural production has suffered serious drought and is liable to decrease in productivity, the enthusiasm of the vast ranks of our peasants is

still swelling. Industrial production will possibly exceed the original plan. The vast ranks of our workers, peasants, and intellectuals are full of hope and confidence about the future. This serves to establish a fine foundation for realizing the magnificent goals put forward by the 12th Party Congress and for opening up a new overall situation in the construction of our socialist modernization. Even though not a few difficulties and problems still exist in our work at present, we are determined to handle our work in Liaoning well. Under the leadership of the Party Central Committee, let us conscientiously propagate and implement the spirit of the 12th Party Congress, earnestly carry out the principles and tasks determined by the congress, and exert our struggle to open up a new overall situation in the construction of our socialist modernization!

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CSO: 4005/51

## PARTY AND STATE

### PARTY CONGRESS DOCUMENTS WIDELY STUDIED IN HEBEI

#### Ding County Activities

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese Sep 20 p 1

[Report by Li Xinsheng [2621 2450 0524] and Zhang Zichao [1728 5261 6389]: "Give Full Scope to the Role of Reporters and Party-Member Liaison Households; Ding County's 470 Reporters and More Than 18,000 Party Members Propagate 12th Party Congress Documents to the Masses"]

[Text] Party organizations at various levels in Ding County have given full scope to the role of reporters and party-member liaison households and have made use of many methods in propagating the documents of the 12th Party Congress to the masses.

In order that the spirit [of the congress] become known to every household, the Ding County CPC Committee has transferred 470 cadres with a relatively higher theoretical level from the county, its districts, and communes to organize a team of reporters. Led by the standing committee of the county party committee, they have gone down to various basic-level units to propagate the documents of the 12th Party Congress to party members, cadres, and the masses. Before these reporters went down, Fu Jiaqin [0265 0502 0530], secretary of the county party committee, and Li Jidong [2621 3444 2639], member of the standing committee and chief of the propaganda department of the party committee, taking Comrade Deng Xiaoping's opening address at their guiding ideology, provided helpful guidance to them. The county party committee also compiled and printed for them guidance materials on study and propagation. Meanwhile, party organizations at various levels mobilized more than 18,000 party members who had already established liaison households and, by adopting the approach of fixing tasks and fixing periods of service, asked them to go down among commune members of the more than 72,000 households assigned to them in order to propagate the documents of the 12th Party Congress. After Wu Dongliang [0702 2639 5238], a member of the standing committee of the county party committee and secretary of the Qingfengdian district party committee, was appointed a reporter, he provided helpful guidance, at a general meeting of cadres in the district who are production team leaders of higher, on "The Magnificent Goals Put Forward by the 12th Party Congress Are Bound to Be Realized," in conjunction with the achievements scored on the various fronts in the county and the district

since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. He said while doing so that the total value of the industrial and agricultural output of Ding County in 1977 was more than 150 million yuan; by 1981 it had reached more than 230 million yuan--an average yearly increase of 10.5 percent. In Qingfengdian district, since the Third Plenary Session the total production of foodgrain, cotton, and oil has increased from 50 percent to 100 percent; the total output value of the diversified economy and the per capita income of commune members have both increased by more than 100 percent. He said that the line, principles, and policies determined by the Third Plenary Session have already been deeply absorbed by the populace, and conditions in various aspects have improved considerably over those of several years ago. Under the stimulus of the spirit of the 12th Party Congress, even greater results are surely possible after a period of another 7 or 8 years, when a doubling of the current amounts seems entirely likely. When the foundation is well laid during the first 10 years, a doubling in the second 10 years is even less of a problem. His helpful guidance enabled the vast ranks of the basic-level cadres to further exert their spirit and become full of confidence as to the ultimate realization of the strategic goals put forward by the Party Central Committee.

All the while as this county's reporters and party members have been establishing liaison households to propagate these 12th Party Congress documents to the masses, they have paid extreme attention to going down deep among the masses, studying the documents together with them, summing up their work together, and heightening their perception and improving their work together. Hence, through such study and propagation, the people's thinking and perception have greatly improved, and their various kinds of work have likewise begun to pick up.

In the process of propagating the 12th Party Congress documents, this county's reporters and party members have also made full use of multifarious propaganda activities. According to incomplete statistics, reporters at various levels and the vast ranks of the party members have, since the convening of the 12th Party Congress, organized and written a total of 250 broadcast texts, compiled and created 119 sets of literary and artistic program and slides, and published 12,000 blackboard editions of news.

#### Pingshan County Activities

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 20 Sep 82 p 1

[Report by Zhang Bochuan [1728 3124 1557], Wang Wensheng [3769 2429 3932], and Gao Zhuzhu [2580 3796 3796]: "Give Scope to Our Fine Traditions, Adhere to and Improve Our Party Leadership; Pingshan County Party Committee Studies 12th Party Congress Documents in Conjunction With the Actual Situation There, and Formulates Pertinent Measures To Improve Party Workstyle"]

[Text] Leading comrades of the county party committee of Pingshan County, an old revolutionary base, have conscientiously studied the documents of the 12th Party Congress and carried out discussions in conjunction with the actual

situation there. They have unanimously indicated that they are determined to follow the demands of the 12th Party Congress in strengthening our party building, in earnestly doing a good job of rectifying our party workstyle, and in better accomplishing the fighting tasks assigned by the party.

In his report, Comrade Hu Yaobang has put forward as a fighting task the realization of a turn for the better in our party workstyle. In order to understand clearly the relationship between rectification of our party workstyle and our economic construction from the unity of theory and practice, comrades of the Pingshan County Party Committee have summed up their past experiences and lessons. During the 10 years of internal disturbance, the cadres and masses suffered enough consequences of "armchair politics." But after the focus of our party work was shifted to economic construction, the county party committee for a time sought only to grasp production and construction, while overlooking education in communist ideology among party members and cadres. This spring, the county party committee began by rectifying our party workstyle and proceeded from there to strengthen policy education among the party members and cadres as well as education in the legal system and in communist ideology. It also adopted decide measures to energetically arrest such unhealthy practices in the countryside as occupying homesteads at random, cutting trees at random that belonged to the collectives, gambling, and stealing; thereby they consolidated and developed a fine situation and promoted the development of our production. By recalling this experience, everyone was enabled to see clearly that improving our party workstyle and strengthening our party's ideological construction are pillars of the spiritual civilization of the whole society, and that these play a great promotive role in our doing a good job of building our material civilization.

In order to realize a basic turn for the better in our party workstyle and adhere to and improve our party leadership, the county party committee followed the demands of the 12th Party Congress by keeping in line with Pingshan's actual situation and formulating and reinforcing the concrete measure of carrying out education in communist ideology among our party members and cadres. The county party committee issued a circular asking party organizations at various levels to organize party members to study the 12th Party Congress documents well and, in conjunction with the activities of appraising and selecting advanced party branches and model party members, to establish models and commend advanced workers with fanfare, as well as to do a good job of carrying out education in our revolutionary traditions. The county party committee is now organizing pertinent personnel to write a party history of Pingshan County and to put in order the biographies of our martyrs, in order to use them as teaching materials for administering a lively education in our revolutionary traditions among party members and cadres. It is also preparing to organize old cadres, old party members, and old Red Army men to lecture to party members on the party's history and on the villages' histories, so that they can take over the party's glorious traditions and pass them on. It is preparing to grasp well the teamwork between party and government,

and thereby fundamentally to change the situation of the past in which the party paid no attention to itself; organs of the county party committee are to play an exemplary role in this [effort]. Most recently, party committees of organs directly under the jurisdiction of the county formulated 12 articles of regulations governing cadres of these organs. The cadres and party members are setting themselves as examples in rectifying our party workstyle, observing discipline, doing good work, and earnestly playing an exemplary role.

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CSO: 4005/47



## PARTY AND STATE

### LIAONING URGED TO PASS ON SPIRIT OF PARTY CONGRESS

#### PLA Activities in Capital

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 21 Sep 82 p 1

[Report: "PLA Units Stationed in Shenyang Pass on Spirit of 12th Party Congress and Call Upon All Party Members To Be Models in Studying and Implementing Spirit of 12th Party Congress and To Bring Into Effect the Three Turns for the Better; Comrade Li Desheng [2621 1795 3932] Speaks at Meeting on How To Study, Propagate, and Implement Spirit of 12th Party Congress"]

[Text] In the forenoon of 20 September, PLA units stationed in Shenyang solemnly convened a meeting of cadres to pass on the spirit of the 12th CPC Congress.

Li Desheng, commanding officer of PLA units stationed in Shenyang, First Political Commissar Liao Hansheng [1675 3352 3932], and other such comrades, responsible comrades of the commanding headquarters of the PLA units stationed in Shenyang, their political department, engineering corps of the Shenyang units, the military district of Liaoning, and various general headquarters of the military party committee, units of the branches of various armies stationed in Shenyang, as well as cadres at the regimental level and above all attended the meeting.

When Jiang Yonghus [3068 2340 6540], delegate to the 12th Party Congress from the units stationed in Shenyang, and deputy commander of the Shenyang units, gave his report at the meeting, he excitedly related the spectacular scene of the opening of the 12th Party Congress, talked about the achievements scored by the 12th Party Congress, discussed the great historic significance of the 12th Party Congress, and reported on the understanding achieved by delegates from the Shenyang units to the 12th Party Congress in their study of the 12th Party Congress documents.

Comrade Li Desheng, for his part, gave a speech at the meeting on the question of how to study, propagate, and implement the spirit of the 12th Party Congress. He said the 12th Party Congress is the most important congress since the Seventh Party Congress; it is a milestone of epoch-making significance in the history of our party. The central leading comrades have emphatically pointed out: Studying, propagating, and implementing the spirit

of the 12th Party Congress is our central task at present and for the period to come. We must grasp this big matter well, according to the plan of the Central Committee and the Military Commission. He asked various units to conscientiously understand the basic spirit of the 12th Party Congress, unify the thinking and perception of the cadres and fighters, firmly believe in the greatness, the glory, and the correctness of our party, firmly believe in the inevitable realization of the magnificent goals set by the 12th Party Congress, and firmly believe in the sure victory of the communist cause. All party members, and the party's leading cadres in particular, must serve as models in the study, propagation, and implementation of the spirit of the 12th Party Congress so as to bring into effect the "three fundamental turns for the better." We must keep closely in mind our actual situation and do a good job of the task of making our units revolutionary, modern, and regular in construction. He called upon all commanding officers to hold high the banner of communism, exert their spirit, immerse themselves in hard work, make efforts with one heart and one mind, and resolutely accomplish the various tasks given our PLA by the 12th Party Congress so as to make our contributions, along with the people of the whole country, to the opening up of a new situation in the construction of our socialist modernization.

Units stationed in Shenyang such as the rear services department, the air force, the artillery unit, the armored unit, and delegates of these Shenyang units to the 12th Party Congress likewise conveyed their respective messages.

#### Party Activities in Province

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 22 Sep 82 p 1

[Report: "Provincial Party Committee Convenes Meeting of Cadres of Divisions Under Direct Jurisdiction of the Province and Above To Pass on Spirit of 12th Party Congress, and Takes Lead in Organizing Party Members, Cadres, and Masses To Peruse Documents and Master Their Essence"]

[Text] On 20 and 21 September, the Liaoning Provincial CPC Committee convened a meeting of cadres of organs under the direct jurisdiction of the province and above to pass on the spirit of the 12th Party Congress. The meeting asked responsible cadres at various levels to play a vanguard role and also to lead the vast ranks of our party members and masses to take Comrade Deng Xiaoping's opening address as our general guiding ideology, to study conscientiously and well Comrade Hu Yaobang's report and the new party constitution as well as the resolutions and speeches of the congress, to conscientiously understand the spirit of the 12th Party Congress, and to implement it in our practical work, so as to strive to struggle for the opening up of a new situation in the construction of our socialist modernization.

The meeting called to hear relayed reports, was presided over by Comrade Li Huang [2621 5435]. Comrade Xu Shaofu's [1776 1421 3940] report was divided into six parts: In the first part he related the general situation of this congress by saying that this congress gave scope to the party's fine traditions and workstyle; it was a congress of unity, a victorious congress, and a vigorous, democratic congress. When he relayed the second part he pointed

out that the congress had examined and passed the report of the Central Committee, the new party constitution, and elected the three committees of the central headquarters; these were the great achievements of the congress. In dwelling on the great significance of the congress, he pointed out that the 12th Party Congress is the most important congress since the Seventh Party Congress. The congress determined to develop a socialism with Chinese characteristics and to follow our own path; it further assured our party, state, and people the continuity and stability of their following the correct line of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee in our forward movement. The new party constitution passed by the congress will raise our party construction to a new level. The congress realized the tasks of the old and new central leaders in cooperating with each other and in taking responsibilities over from each other.

In his third part he passed on in detail the contents of the report that Comrade Hu Yaobang made on behalf of the Party Central Committee. [Xu] gave an overall exposition of the general task of the new historical period put forward in the report and the key ingredients of the report's six parts, pointing out that this report is the correct program for comprehensively opening up a new situation in the construction of our socialist modernization.

In his fourth part, he said the new party constitution passed by the congress is the most complete party constitution in the history of our party. This new party constitution makes even stricter requirements on our party members, party-member cadres, and the party's basic-level organizations. It makes certain important changes in the party's organizational system and it provides even more complete and more concrete prescriptions on democratic centralism and party discipline. It is the correct program for party construction in the new era.

In relaying his fifth part, he said this congress asserted its farsightedness and triumphantly realized the tasks of the old and new comrades of the central leading organs in cooperating with each other and taking over responsibilities from each other. This is a great undertaking that relates to the long-term order and security of our state and the furthering of our communist cause from generation to generation. In the new leading organs there are both long-tested old comrades who remain as pillars and a contingent of comrades in their prime who have been added as reinforcements. In this way, the realization of the principles and tasks put forth by the 12th Party Congress is given its important guarantee organizationally.

When he relayed the contents of his sixth part, he said the main indicator for the realization of the tasks of the congress is to bring about during the next 5 years the "three fundamental turns for the better." At present, we must quickly implement the four tasks that Comrade Hu Yaobang put forth at the First Plenary Session of the 12th Party Central Committee.

Comrades Wang Guangzhong [3769 0342 0022] and Zhu Chuan [2612 1557], respectively relayed Comrade Hu Yaobang's speech at the First Plenary Session, Comrade Deng Xiaoping's speech at the Central Advisory Committee, and Comrade Chen Yun's speech at the central Discipline Inspection Committee.

Finally, Comrade Li Huang made a concrete request for party members and cadres of organs under the direct jurisdiction of the province to study the 12th Party Congress documents, stressing that leading cadres at various levels must take the lead in studying the spirit of the documents well. Following the arrangements made by the central headquarters, in the first stage we must peruse these documents, understand their spirit thoroughly, master their essence, and in the course of our study we may keep in mind our actual situation and launch discussions and necessary criticism and self-criticism. The methods of our study must be flexible and diverse, with emphasis placed on practical efficiency. We must especially strengthen our leadership over this study of the documents of the 12th Party Congress, and supervise and inspect such study at fixed intervals, so as to make the spirit of the 12th Party Congress really become known to each household.

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CSO: 4005/53

## PARTY AND STATE

### PARTY OFFICIALS PUNISHED FOR ELECTION IRREGULARITIES

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 22 Sep 82 p 1

[Report: "Incident of Sabotage of Elections at Meeting of Party Representatives in Feixiang County Has Now Been Solemnly Adjudicated; the 10 Instigators, Directors, and Participants in This Incident--Lu Guotai [6424 0948 1132], Li Molin [2621 1075 2651], Zhao Xiangsheng [6392 4161 3932], Wang Haibo [3769 3189 3134], et al--Have Been Punished According to Party Discipline and Administrative Discipline"]

[Text] XINHUA NEWS AGENCY reporters Guo Jie [6753 3381] and Zhao Deren [6392 1795 3387] report: The incident of sabotage of elections at the party representatives' meeting in Feixiang County [Handan Prefecture], Hebei Province, has been solemnly adjudicated. The 10 instigators, directors, and participants in this incident, Lu Guotai, Li Molin, Zhao Xiangsheng, Wang Haibo, and the others, have recently been punished according to party discipline and administrative discipline.

In January of this year, when Feixiang County held its third meeting of party representatives, there occurred a serious political incident of sabotage of democratic elections. Under the care of leading comrades of the Party Central Committee, the Hebei Provincial Party Committee and the Handan Prefectural Party Committee undertook to conduct a penetrating investigation of this incident. The provincial party committee also had the results of the elections in question declared null and void in April of this year, restored to office the original county party committee secretary, Chen Wei [7115 5588], and appointed a new leading group for the county party committee. According to what the Hebei Provincial Party Committee and the Handan Prefectural Party Committee have found out, the instigators and directors of this incident are a bunch of people with serious factionalist thinking and individual ambitions. For the purpose of seizing power in the county party committee, they banded together certain people who had made mistakes during the "Cultural Revolution" or who, because of their unhealthy practices, had been punished and were attempting to make private gains. By adopting the illegal methods of the "Cultural Revolution" period, such as clandestinely seeking to connive with each other, putting up big-character posters, passing out handbills, spreading rumors, and framing others, they squeezed out responsible comrades of the county party committee who had been implementing the party's line since the Third Plenary Session of its 11th Central Committee.

The leading party and government organs in Handan Prefecture recently convened a general meeting in Feixiang County to announce that the following punishments had been meted out to the four instigators and directors of this serious political incident: County Governor Lu Guotai, dismissal from party membership and dismissal from public office, but retained on the job for the time being; Deputy County Governor Li Molin, dismissal from party membership and removal from his administrative job; Zhao Xiangsheng, deputy secretary of the county party committee and deputy county governor, retention in the party for a 2-year period of observation, and removal from his administrative job; Wang Haibo, deputy manager of the cotton and hemp company of the county's supply and distribution cooperative, dismissal from party membership and removal from his administrative job. The general meeting at the same time announced the following punishments meted out to the [other] six participants: Li Xifeng [2621 1585 7685], director of the county's financial committee office, dismissal from party membership and dismissal from public office, but retained on the job; Liu Yuyin [0491 3768 0603], secretary of Jiudian Commune, retention in party for a 1-year period of observation for the time being; Wang Shuqin [3769 2579 0530], chief of the electricity bureau, and Li Xianghe [2621 4161 3109], deputy director of the county's economic commission, removal from offices within and outside the party; Liu Tong [0491 2717], secretary of Dongzhangbao Commune, and Li Fengbin [2621 7685 1755], secretary of the Daxigao Commune, serious intraparty warning. Apart from these, active participants Li Zhengxiang [2621 2973 4382] and Li Jinzhang [2621 6855 4545], because of their initiative in telling of their problems, exemption from punishment.

Those who attended this general meeting included a total of over 1,000 persons, such as party members and cadres or organs under the direct jurisdiction of Feixiang County and various communes, as well as responsible persons of counties and departments under the direct jurisdiction of the prefecture in Handan Prefecture. In his talk, the responsible person of the Handan Prefectural CPC Committee stressed the need to take this incident as an instructional material on negative examples, to sum up experiences and lessons, and to follow the spirit of the 12th Party Congress and the uniform deployment of the Party Central Committee, in order to rectify and do a good job of building party organizations at various levels. He pointed out that the Party Central Committee's principle of not promoting the "three kinds of people"--those who rose during the period of the "Cultural Revolution" by following Lin Biao and Jiang Qing and their ilk in rebellion; those with serious factionalist thinking; and those who beat, smashed, and looted--and those who are opposed to the Party Central Committee's line since its Third Plenary Session, as well as those in the economic realm and other areas who seriously violated law and discipline, is entirely correct. If these kinds of people are in power, once they see an opportunity to seize, they will immediately jump forward to raise winds and waves and thereby threaten the party's cause. Only by resolutely pulling these people down from leadership posts can we really guarantee the implementation of the party's line, principles, and policies.

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CSO: 4005/47

## PARTY AND STATE

### COUNTY COMMITTEE EDUCATES PARTY MEMBERS IN PARTY'S AIMS, PRINCIPLES

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 29 Jun 82 p 1

[Article: "Education in the [Basic] Aims of the Party Carried Out, Specifically Aimed at the Actual Ideological Situation of Party Members"]

[Text] The Suqian County Committee of the CPC, in the course of its stepping up the party's ideological construction, gave prominence to the subject of education in the basic aims of the party, and caused to appear among the county's 30,000 party members a good atmosphere of taking being roused to revolutionary enthusiasm as a standard and being brave in taking on heavy burdens and striving to be more advanced.

Since the Third Plenum, the Suqian County Committee has placed great emphasis on the work of educating party members: They, adopting the methods of training people within the county, looking after people at the commune level, and helping people at the brigade level, have enabled each of the party branches of the 471 rural production brigades throughout the county to have an instructor specializing in party education. The 171 party branches of the organizations directly affiliated with the county have also been allotted 156 instructors in party education. The proportion of basic-level party organizations whose members attend over eight of these party classes per year has already reached over 80 percent. But what can we do to enable the education of party members to have a more definite objective? Over the last 2 years, the county committee has also organized concerned personnel and investigated, one after the other, the ideological situation of party members over 10 units such as the county's Xinhua bookstore and Suhuang brigade of the Nancai Commune, and discovered that one of the conspicuous problems among grassroots-level party members is that they do not know how to deal correctly with the relationships among individual, collective, and national advantage. Some party members fear only that the individual will be at a disadvantage, and forget the party's advantage, with the result that their determination is weakened, and their morale uninspired, seriously weakening the party's combat effectiveness. In order to change this circumstance, the Suqian County Committee guided the various levels of party organization throughout the county in sharply pinpointing this subject of the basic aims of the party and, closely tying in the thinking relating to the various kinds of "being at a disadvantage," launching a program of educating party members, which achieved excellent results, as follows:

1. They eliminated the thinking that held that "the individual party member is at a disadvantage," and helped to maintain the advanced nature of communist party members. In the course of implementing the various policies affecting rural areas, some party members considered that in being party members they would have to play a leading role, but in so doing they would be binding their own hands and feet as far as being able to increase their own wealth was concerned, and so be at a disadvantage, so that some of them did not even want to participate in organizational activities. Aiming specifically at this circumstance, the basic-level party organizations of Suqian County universally inaugurated party classes in the topics of "Why should one join the party?" and "How can we maintain the advanced nature of communist party members?," educating party members in how to deal correctly with the relationship between individual advantage and the advantage of the masses. During this year's June planting season in Suqian County, water for agricultural use was in extremely scarce supply owing to the long period of drought, causing serious difficulties with regard to the county's 750 mu of paddy rice that needed to be planted. The Suqian County Committee then carried out a program of education of all party members, centering on the problem of the water needed for agricultural use, in the topics of the public good coming before private interests and the masses' interests coming before one's own, causing many party members to take the lead in allowing the masses to have priority over themselves in the utilization of water. The fields under the responsibility of the secretaries of the party branches of the Miaoxu, Huayuan and Oumiao production brigades of Wangguanji Commune, relying on the circumstances that their water source was the closest, and their irrigation process the slowest, all planted 2 or 3 days later than the masses. Wu Yuanxiang, an old party member of the third team of the seedling dyke production brigade, managed the water so as not to use it first, and only after fully irrigating all of the fields under the responsibility of the production brigade's more than 80 households did he finally take his own turn. A good many party members said: We are willing to undergo things that cause us to be at a disadvantage, and in having things come easy we will yield to others."

2. They eliminated the thinking that "cadres are at a disadvantage," and strengthened their sense of responsibility for serving the people. After the new systems of production responsibility were put into effect, some cadres only paid attention to the fields which their own families were responsible for. The various levels of party organization of Suqian County, aside from utilizing party classes and carrying out regular education of these party members, also got a firm hold on conspicuous manifestations happening during a certain period, and concentrated on solving this ideological question. During this year's period of the "four summer," in the party committee of Luji Commune it happened that a good many cadres of production brigades watched closely the fields that their own families were responsible for, and were never seen among the teams that were divided up to do the rest of the work; and the cadres, after being criticized separately, thought to resign their posts and not work as cadres anymore. The party committee of the commune twice convened a meeting of cadres and educated them in the two areas of the basic aims of the party and socialist principles of distribution. At the same time, they praised the advanced accomplishments of a number of cadres who single-mindedly did a good job of "four summer" work on behalf of the collective. Hence, they enabled everyone to accept the education, persevere in the basic aims of the party, and conscientiously give first priority to doing a good job of their work.



3. They eliminated the thinking that "to be advanced is to be at a disadvantage," and established a good atmosphere of taking pride in making as much of a contribution as possible. In order to bring about a complete change in this unhealthy circumstance of the disparagement and isolation of those who try to be more advanced, the Suqian County Committee took a clear stand with respect to upholding righteousness and dispelling evil within the party. At the same time, party members of units that were more advanced in party education dealt correctly with the question of striving to be more advanced. Since last summer, the county people's market has attended, one after the other, national, provincial, and prefecture-level meetings, of high repute and characterized by heavy pressure, for the exchange of experience relating to the five things to be stressed and the "four beautifuls." In carrying out this task at the beginning of this year, a minority of party members considered that for higher-level cadres to have to participate in this task was an example of "whipping a fast ox," and that being advanced was really too much of a burden. As soon as this kind of thinking reared its head, the party branch of the people's market utilized the example of the accomplishments of Xia Renhui, a communist party member in that unit's hardware and switch market who on his own initiative sought to apply more pressure on himself, and ceaselessly strove to reach greater heights; educated the party members to keep firmly in mind that they are the vanguard warriors of the proletariat; and aroused everyone with enthusiasm to strive to be more advanced. By the period ending in May, the entire shop had already completed its sales quota and compared with the same period last year exceeded its quota by 250,000 yuan, amounting to 49.5 percent of the year's sales plan; the amount of profit realized was over 90,000 yuan more than for the same period last year, amounting to 52 percent of the total year's plan. They attended the provincial conference of model workers and advanced representatives, and were commended by the provincial government. (Reporting station of the county committee's propaganda branch)

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CSO: 4005/1076

## PARTY AND STATE

### EIGHTH IN SERIES ON REVISED PARTY CONSTITUTION

OW011409 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 24 Oct 82

[Eighth in a series of questions and answers about the study of the party constitution adopted by the 12th CPC National Congress: "How To Correctly Understand Class Struggle in our Country at the Present Stage"--by the General Section of the Research Office under the CPC Central Committee Secretariat]

[Excerpts] The new party constitution points out in its general program: After the elimination of the exploiting classes as such, most of the contradictions in Chinese society do not have the nature of class struggle, and class struggle is no longer the principal contradiction. However, owing to domestic circumstances and foreign influences, class struggle will continue to exist within certain limits for a long time, and may even sharpen under certain limits for a long time, and may even sharpen under certain conditions.

This is our party's basic viewpoint on class struggle at the present stage. Why do we say that after the elimination of the exploiting classes as such, most of the contradictions in Chinese society do not have the nature of class struggle, and class struggle is no longer the principal contradiction?

As we know, the position of class struggle in society changes with the changes in the balance of class forces and the principal contradiction under different historical conditions. It was correct to take class struggle as the principal contradictions before the completion of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production in our country. In the early period after the founding of the People's Republic, the remnant forces of the three enemies--imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism--were still quite strong. The bourgeoisie still existed as an exploiting class, and they still controlled the means of production with which to exploit the people. In the rural areas, land reform was still in progress, and landlords, local tyrants, bandits, key members of reactionary secret societies and so forth were still making trouble. U.S. imperialism was then starting the war of aggression against Korea and spreading the flames of war to Northeast China. It also sent its 7th Fleet to blockade our coastal areas. Working in concert with China's domestic reactionary forces, U.S. imperialism vainly attempted to subvert our newborn people's political power. At that time, class struggle was indeed the principal contradiction in Chinese society; it was very acute, and it dominated our social life as a whole.

In 1952, in accordance with Comrade Mao Zedong's suggestion, the party Central Committee set forth the general line for the transition period: Bring about, step by step and over a fairly long period, the socialist industrialization of China and the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce by the state. During the period of socialist transformation, the revolutionary task of the proletariat in China was to abolish the capitalist exploiting system and private ownership of the means of production and to establish a socialist economic system based on public ownership. Therefore, the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie remained the principal contradiction in Chinese society.

After completing in the main the socialist transformation, the bourgeoisie and other exploiting classes were basically eliminated as classes. Therefore, class struggle in our country changed fundamentally in form and content, and the principal contradiction in society changed in a fundamental way. The Eighth CPC National Congress held in September 1956 declared that the socialist system had been basically established in China; that while we must strive to liberate Taiwan, thoroughly complete socialist transformation, ultimately eliminate the system of exploitation and continue to wipe out the remnant forces of counterrevolution, the principal contradiction within the country was no longer the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie; and that although class struggle still existed and the people's democratic dictatorship had to be further strengthened, the basic task of the dictatorship was now to protect the productive forces in the context of the new relations of production.

The analysis and exposition by the Eighth CPC National Congress on the class situation, class struggle and principal contradiction in our country at that time were absolutely correct. However, owing to various complicated social and political reasons, our party failed to persist in using this correct principle to guide our work following the eighth party congress.

Many contradictions which did not have the nature of class struggle were handled as class struggle, and many contradictions among the people themselves were handled as contradictions between ourselves and the enemy. As a result, class struggle was seriously enlarged in scale, and it finally developed into looking for bourgeoisie within the party, setting off a so-called great political revolution in which one class was to be overthrown by another--the historic tragedy known as the Cultural Revolution.

Based on this lesson, the 3d plenary session of the 11th Party Central Committee resolutely stopped following the principle of taking class struggle as the key link. Since then, a great deal of work has been done to set things right in both the guiding ideology and actual work, and the situation of stability and unity has been enhanced.

The 12th CPC National Congress summed up historical experiences and lessons, analyzed the present state of class struggle in China and put forward the basic viewpoint and principle for correctly understanding and handling class struggle. It pointed out that most of the contradictions in Chinese society do not have the nature of class struggle, and that class struggle is no longer the principal contradiction.

Who, then, are the hostile elements who deliberately sabotage and attempt to overthrow the socialist system as referred to by the new party constitution? These hostile elements are mainly: 1. New and old counterrevolutionaries and enemy agents; 2. Remaining elements of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques; 3. Criminals seriously disrupting socialist order; 4. New exploiters engaged in graft, embezzlement, speculation, windling, smuggling and selling contraband goods; and 5. A few old exploiters still engaged in sabotage activities.

These hostile elements are using every opportunity to carry out all kinds of economic, political, cultural and other social activities hostile to and undermining the socialist system. Their interests are fundamentally opposed to the interests of the masses of the people. Therefore, the struggle of the masses of the people against them remains a kind of class struggle.

On the other hand, we should also see that although sometimes these hostile elements are quite active, and we must not underestimate their influence, under normal circumstances it is no longer possible for them to form an open and complete class, and the people's democratic dictatorship does not permit them to form or unite into a unified political group. Their activities are illegal and constantly exposed, sanctioned and attacked by the people.

Why does the new party constitution say that this struggle will exist for a long time? This is because: 1. The pernicious influence of past exploiting system and exploiting classes in various spheres cannot possibly be eradicated in a short period. 2. The great cause of the motherland's reunification has not been accomplished; we are still in a complicated international environment; and imperialist forces and certain forces hostile to our socialist cause will still attempt to erode and undermine our country. 3. Our country is still rather backward economically and culturally; our young socialist system is still imperfect in many ways; and it is still impossible for us to completely prevent some members of society and some party members from becoming corrupted and degenerated and to prevent the emergence of a few exploiters and hostile elements of various kinds.

Therefore, we must prepare ourselves mentally for a long-term struggle, see to it that the state of the people's democratic dictatorship exercises its functions of dictatorship over the enemies, and uphold the Marxist class viewpoint in analyzing and handling the current social contradictions and other social phenomena that have the nature of class struggle.

CSO: 4005/129

## PARTY AND STATE

### 9TH, 10TH IN SERIES ON NEW CPC CONSTITUTION

OW011421 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 25 Oct 82

[Ninth and 10th in a series of questions and answers on the study of the party constitution adopted by the 12th CPC National Congress: "What is the Principal Contradiction in Chinese Society at the Present Stage" and "What Is Party's General Task at the Present Stage?"--prepared by General Section of the Research Office of the CPC Central Committee Secretariat]

[Excerpts] Ninth Question: What is the principal contradiction in Chinese society at the present stage?

The general program of the new party constitution states that the principal contradiction in Chinese society at the present stage is that between the people's growing material and cultural needs and the backwardness of our social production. This corrects the mistake contained in the party constitutions adopted by the 9th, 10th and 11th party congresses which said that class struggle is the principal contradiction in our socialist society with economic construction being subordinate to class struggle.

With the basic completion of the socialist transformation of private ownership of the means of production, the main obstacle to the development of social production has been removed and the principal task facing the socialist society is to gradually meet the people's rapidly growing material and cultural needs.

The strengthening and development of any type of society depends on the development of productive forces. With the main obstacle to the development of the productive forces removed, we must continuously strengthen and develop the socialist system by concentrating all our efforts on economic construction and creating a labor productivity surpassing that of capitalist society in order to build our socialism on a solid material foundation.

We started building our socialism on a very backward economic and cultural foundation. Besides, mistakes have been made in our work over many years. The contradiction between the people's rapidly growing material and cultural needs and the inability of social production to satisfy these needs becomes more outstanding. The new party constitution specifically states that this is the principal contradiction in our society at the present stage.

Tenth Question: What is the general task of the party at the present stage?

The new party constitution clearly states that the general task of the party is to unite the people of all nationalities in working hard and self-reliantly to achieve step by step the modernization of our industry, agriculture, national defense and science and technology and to make China a culturally advanced and highly democratic socialist country. The general task set forth in the party constitution specifies three fields of work: 1) socialist modernization of economy; 2) building of socialist spiritual civilization; and 3) socialist democracy. The focus is on economic construction.

In socialist modernization of economy, the new party constitution states that the strategic goal is to strive to quadruple the total industrial and agricultural output value in the 20 years from 1981 to 2000; the strategic emphasis is to satisfactorily solve agricultural, energy, transport, educational and science problems; the strategic steps are to lay a good foundation and create favorable conditions through all-out efforts in the first decade and to bring about an all-round upsurge of economy and enter a new economic rejuvenation period in the second decade.

Socialist spiritual civilization, socialist democracy and material civilization are all components of the general task, none of them is dispensable.

To accomplish the party's general task at the present stage, it is imperative to unite the people of all nationalities to work hard and self-reliantly. Comrade Deng Xiaoping incisively pointed out in his opening speech at the 12th CPC National Congress: "China's affairs should be run in our own way by our own efforts. Independence and self-reliance have always been and will forever be our basic stand." In our socialist modernization campaign, we must proceed from China's practical condition. We do not neglect the necessity to learn from the experiences of foreign countries, yet we will not mechanically copy their experiences and models. Integrating the universal Marxist truth with the practical conditions of China, we take our own road to build socialism with Chinese characteristics. This is the fundamental conclusion drawn after summing up our historical experiences over a long period. This is the important principle governing our socialist modernization.

We believe that with the unswerving efforts of the whole party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities of the whole country, we will no doubt victoriously fulfill the party's general task at the present time.

CSO: 4005/129

## PARTY AND STATE

### ELEVENTH IN SERIES ON NEW CPC CONSTITUTION

OW020537 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 24 Oct 82

[Eleventh in a series of questions and answers about the study of the party constitution adopted by the 12th CPC National Congress: "Why Is It Necessary To Build High-level Socialist Spiritual Civilization While Building High-level Material Civilization?"--by the General Section of the Research Office under the CPC Central Committee Secretariat]

[Excerpts] The general program of the new party constitution states that the CPC leads the people, as they work for a high level of material civilization, in building a high level of socialist civilization. What is material civilization? What is spiritual civilization? Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out in his report to the 12th CPC National Congress: The transformation of nature results in material civilization. In the process of transforming the objective world, people also transform their subjective world, and the production of spiritual value and the spiritual life of society also develop. The latter achievement is what we call spiritual civilization. What does socialist spiritual civilization consist of? Roughly speaking, socialist spiritual civilization consists of two aspects, the cultural and ideological. The cultural aspect refers to the development of undertakings such as education, science, art and literature, the press and publication, radio broadcasting and television, public health and physical culture, and libraries and museums, as well as the raising of the general knowledge of the people. The ideological aspect, on the other hand, refers to the development of the working class' Marxist world outlook, scientific theories and the communist ideals, conviction and moral integrity.

Why is it necessary to build a high level of socialist spiritual civilization, while working for a high level of socialist material civilization? We can discuss this question in the light of the following three points:

1. The civilization of mankind is the crystalization of material and spiritual civilization. Material civilization of spiritual civilization, which is essential in developing material civilization, especially in a socialist society where spiritual and material civilizations permeate and promote each other. Thus, the development of culture, education and science will be impeded if the economy remains undeveloped. Our mental outlook and the building of socialist moral integrity will also be harrassed by the backward state

of economic affairs. The goal of building material civilization cannot be accomplished without spiritual civilization.

2. Only by stepping up the building of spiritual civilization can we develop material civilization. It is difficult for a country to realize modernization if science and culture are not developed. Cultural building therefore is an important prerequisite, both for the building of material civilization and for the raising of people's political consciousness and moral standards.

As a whole, our country is still very backward in science and culture. In industrial departments, the number of technical personnel constitutes only 2.8 percent of the total number of workers and staff. In enterprises, 80 percent of the workers and staff do not have basic scientific knowledge. The use of manual labor is still very common in some industrial and mining enterprises. Illiteracy and semi-illiteracy prevail in the rural areas, especially in remote areas, where scientific and technical personnel are noticeably lacking, and where primitive means, such as oxen and plows, are still being used to do farm work. All this naturally affects the building of material civilization. If we are to accelerate the building of material civilization, we have to continuously expand and develop science, culture and education and to raise the scientific and technical level of the whole nation in order to attain the goal.

As mentioned above, another important aspect of socialist spiritual civilization is ideological building, as it determines the socialist of the spiritual civilization and plays a tremendous motivating role in the building of material civilization.

3. Only by strengthening the building of spiritual civilization can we be sure that modernization will move toward a socialist orientation. Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out in his report to the 12th CPC National Congress: If the great task of building a socialist spiritual civilization, guided by communist ideology, is over-looked, people will fall into a one-sided understanding of socialism and direct their attention exclusively to the building of material civilization or even only to the pursuit of material gain. In that case, we will not be able to safeguard the socialist orientation of China's modernization and our socialist society will lose its ideals and objectives, its spiritual motivation and fighting will, lose the ability to resist the inroads of corrupt influence and even develop distortedly and degenerately. Comrade Hu Yaobang continued: This is not just alarming talk, but a conclusion drawn from the present realities at home and abroad.

The historic experience of socialism and the actual prevailing conditions in our country remind us that, while stepping up the building of material civilization, it is necessary to also step up the building of spiritual civilization, as this has a bearing on the rise or fall and success or failure of socialism. But some comrades held that, since our present material conditions were so poor, we could not currently build spiritual civilization and that it was not too late to start when our economic foundation improved and material conditions were good. This is a wrong attitude.



Therefore, even if material conditions are still backward, we must continue to carry out education on communist ideology among the people. By so advocating, we are not saying that the spirit is all-powerful. Engels once said: An economically backward country can still play first violin philosophically. Germany in the mid-19th century and Russia at the end of the 19th century, though economically poor, were the birthplaces of Marxism and Leninism respectively. During the war of resistance against Japan, in spite of the fact that the economic conditions in Yanan and other anti-Japanese bases, then under our party's control, were poor, the Yanan spirit was known to the whole world. Furthermore, economic conditions in the early part of the 1950's and 1960's were no better than they are today, yet the fine social atmosphere at that time was highly praised by the people of many countries in the world.

Some comrades currently still do not grasp the far-reaching significance and importance of the building of socialist spiritual civilization. They hold and it is no concern of their, that the building of spiritual civilization is a task for the political and propaganda department, and that people engaged in economic work should be excused from performing this task. The building of socialist spiritual and material civilization, in fact, is a strategic goal which the whole party and the people throughout the country should strive to reach. In production, we must not only have to turn out more and better material products, but must also bring up generation after generation of socialist new persons. Each and every working person should be a builder of socialist spiritual civilization. Party members must set an example by their own deeds, to inspire more and more people to becoming working people with lofty ideals, moral integrity, education and a sense of discipline.

CSO: 4005/129

PARTY AND STATE

12TH, 13TH IN SERIES ON NEW CPC CONSTITUTION

OW021213 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 27 Oct 82

[Twelfth and 13th in a series of questions and answers about the study of the party constitution adopted by the 12th CPC National Congress: "Why Is It Necessary To Attain a High Level of Socialist Democracy?" and "What are the Basic Aspects of the Party's Policy on Nationalities?"--by the General Section of the Research Office under the CPC Central Committee Secretariat]

[Excerpts] The 12th Question: Why is it necessary to attain a high level of socialist democracy?

Attaining a high level of socialist democracy is an important aspect of the general task of our party at the present stage. The general program of the new party constitution states: The Communist Party of China leads the people in promoting socialist democracy, perfecting the socialist legal system and consolidating the people's democratic dictatorship.

Only by attaining a high level of socialist democracy will it be possible to develop in all fields of endeavor in keeping with the people's will, interests and needs and to exercise effective dictatorship over a handful of hostile elements and guarantee smooth progress in socialist construction.

Exactly for this reason, the party has consistently strived to promote socialist democracy and improve the socialist legal system since the 3d plenary session of the 11th party Central Committee. The 12th party congress in more clear-cut terms made attaining a high level of democracy a fighting goal and an important part of the general task of the party in the new historical period.

We must closely link the building of socialist democracy with that of the socialist legal system so that socialist democracy will be institutionalized and codified into laws. Only in this way can democracy be enhanced. Since the downfall of the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique, we have enacted a series of important laws including the criminal law, the criminal procedure law, the draft civil procedure law for trial implementation, the election law and the new marriage law. We have also drawn up a draft revised constitution, which will soon be submitted to the National People's Congress for discussion and adoption. This shows that a great deal has been achieved in building up our legal system.

To promote socialist democracy and perfect the socialist legal system, the key lies in the party's own building and the party leadership. The party's past experience and lessons have shown that whether there is sound inner-party political life after the party has won nationwide political power has a direct bearing and decisive effect on the building of democracy and the legal system of the country as a whole. If the principle of democracy and the legal system of the country as a whole. [sentence as received] If the principle of democratic centralism within the party had not been disrupted, the decade of nationwide turmoil would not have happened. Therefore, in the course of promoting socialist democracy, the party must first perfect the system of democratic centralism, give full scope to inner-party democracy and achieve a high degree of centralization on the basis of democracy.

In improving the socialist legal system, the party will continue to lead the people in making and improving various laws, strengthen its leadership over the work of public security, the procuratorate and the judiciary and insure in every way that these departments strictly enforce the laws. Moreover, through our publicity work we should repeatedly educate the whole people in the importance of the legal system. In particular, party members should be educated and urged to take the lead in observing the constitution and laws and acting strictly according to law. Only in this way can we speed up the development of socialist democracy and the building of the socialist legal system.

The 13th Question: What are the basic aspects of the party's policy on nationalities?

The general program of the new party constitution stipulates: The Communist Party of China upholds and promotes relations of equality, unity and mutual assistance among all nationalities in the country, persists in the policy of regional autonomy of minority nationalities, aids the areas inhabited by minority nationalities in their economic and cultural development, and actively trains and promotes cadres from among the minority nationalities.

This is the important principle and policy which the party has consistently adhered to in solving nationality issues in the country.

First, the party upholds and promotes relations of equality, unity and mutual assistance among all nationalities in the country. This is a matter of fundamental importance concerning the unity of the motherland and the common prosperity of all our nationalities. However, under the long influence of left thinking and particularly the disruptive effects of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques, the relations of equality, unity and mutual assistance among our nationalities were seriously damaged. Since the 3d plenary session of the 11th party Central Committee, the party Central Committee has done a great deal of work in setting things right in nationality issues, and the relations among our nationalities have taken on a completely new outlook. To further uphold and promote the existing relations of equality, unity and mutual assistance--this is an important policy our party must implement in the entire historical period of socialist construction.

Second, the party persists in the policy of regional autonomy of minority nationalities.

Since the founding of new China, 5 autonomous regions, 29 autonomous prefectures and 75 autonomous counties have been established in our country.

In implementing regional autonomy of minority nationalities, we must overcome and prevent two erroneous ideas. One is great nation chauvinism, primarily Han chauvinism. The other is local nationality chauvinism. Both are harmful.

Third, the party aids the minority nationalities in their economic and cultural development. Owing to historical events, the level of economic and cultural development is very uneven among our nationalities. Generally speaking, the economic and cultural level of the Han nationality is higher than the level of the minority nationalities. This difference in the level of economic and cultural development is the fundamental way to eliminate the actual inequality among nationalities and to promote common prosperity of all nationalities.

Fourth, the party actively trains and promotes cadres from among the minority nationalities. In a multinational country like ours, it is absolutely impossible to promote the great unity and common prosperity of all nationalities without a large number of cadres of minority nationalities with communist consciousness. In the more than 30 years since the founding of new China, the ranks of cadres of minority nationalities have grown rapidly. Most of the cadres of minority nationalities now in leading positions in organs of national autonomy in our country have been trained by the party since liberation. However, in number and quality, the present cadres of minority nationalities are far from meeting the requirements of further implementing the policy of regional national autonomy and of the modernization drive in national autonomous areas. From now on, we must make vigorous efforts to train in various ways cadres of minority nationalities. It is necessary to train not only leading party and government cadres but also cadres specializing in various scientific and technological fields. At the same time, we should continue to promote cadres of minority nationalities who have political integrity and ability to leading posts in national autonomous organs at various levels.

CSO: 4005/129

## PARTY AND STATE

### 14TH, 15TH IN SERIES ON REVISED PARTY CONSTITUTION

OW022353 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 28 Oct 82

[Fourteenth and fifteenth in a series of questions and answers about the study of party constitution adopted by the 12th National Congress: "Why Is It Significant to Further Develop and Strengthen the Broadest Possible Patriotic United Front?" And "What Is the Party's Basic Stand on International Affairs?" --by the General Section of the Research Office under the CPC Central Committee Secretariat]

[Excerpts] The 14th Question: Why is it significant to further develop and strengthen the broadest possible patriotic united front?

The general program of the new party constitution points out: The Communist Party of China unites with all workers, peasants and intellectuals, and with all democratic parties, nonparty democrats and the patriotic forces of all nationalities in China in further expanding and fortifying the broadest possible patriotic united front, embracing all socialist working people and all patriots who support socialism or who support the reunification of the motherland.

This is a major policy adopted by our party during the new historical period to turn China into a modern socialist nation.

During the new historical period to turn China into a modern socialist nation, the status of the working class has been greatly strengthened, peasants have already become collective peasants, and the overwhelming majority of intellectuals has become a part of the working people. People of various nationalities have already followed the socialist path. The capitalist class no longer exists as a class. The majority of those who belonged to the capitalist class have become a part of the workers, earning their own living. Various democratic parties have become a political force serving socialism. Our compatriots in Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao and Chinese nationals residing abroad have further raised their awareness of patriotism. The united front has an even broader and more solid basis. Under this situation, our party must continue to adhere to the policy of "long-term coexistence and mutual supervision" and the principle of "treating each other with all sincerity and sharing weal and woe," and strengthen our cooperation with them. We must

do everything possible to strengthen the broadest possible patriotic united front, embracing all socialist working people and all patriots who support socialism or who support the reunification of the motherland, including our compatriots in Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao and Chinese nationals residing abroad. By further developing and strengthening the broadest possible patriotic united front, it will be possible for us to unite all forces that can be united and bring into full play all the positive factors to serve the general task in the new historical period.

To further develop and strengthen the broadest possible patriotic united front is conducive to the return of Taiwan to the embrace of the motherland. The reunification of the motherland, including Taiwan, is one of the three major tasks of the Chinese people in the 1980's. Taiwan is the sacred territory of the motherland, and people in Taiwan are our own flesh and blood. However, Taiwan has been arbitrarily separated from the motherland since 1949. The reunification of the motherland will affect the future of our entire nation. It is our major task. The reunification of the motherland accords with the will of the people and the general trend of events. It is universally recognized that there is but one China in the world, and Taiwan is an inseparable part of China. A political situation characterized by stability and unity has prevailed in China. In 1979 and 1981, the NPC Standing Committee made public the guidelines and policy for the return of Taiwan to the motherland and the peaceful reunification of the motherland, winning warm support from the people of all nationalities throughout the country, including the compatriots in Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao and the Chinese nationals residing in foreign countries. An atmosphere favorable to peace talks has prevailed on both sides of the Taiwan Strait. The situation at home and abroad is extremely favorable for helping Taiwan return to the motherland by peaceful means and realizing the peaceful reunification of the motherland. By further developing and strengthening the broadest possible patriotic united front and uniting all patriots who support the reunification of the motherland, no matter to what class they belong, we will definitely be able to greatly develop and strengthen the patriotic forces for the reunification of the motherland, to crush the plots of the imperialist forces and the handful of reactionaries in Taiwan in vainly attempting to separate Taiwan from the motherland, and to fulfill the great task of the reunification of the motherland.

The 15th Question: What is the party's basic stand on international affairs?

In international affairs, the Communist Party of China takes its basic stand as follows:

1. It adheres to proletarian internationalism and firmly unites with the workers of all lands, with oppressed nations and peoples and with all peace-loving and justice-upholding organizations and personages in the common struggle against imperialism, hegemonism and colonialism and for the defense of world peace and the promotion of human progress.

Our party firmly believes that, as long as the peoples of the whole world truly unite as one and unswervingly wage their struggle, world peace can be safeguarded.

2. The Communist Party of China stands for the development of state relations between China and other countries on the basis of the five principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual nonaggression, noninterference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefits, and peaceful existence.

Communist and socialism will definitely prevail in the whole world. This is the objective law of social development. However, Marxists believe that revolution cannot be exported but can occur only by the choice of the people of the country concerned. It is on the basis of this understanding that we have always abided by the five principles of peaceful coexistence. In the past 30 and more years, we have established diplomatic relations with 125 countries. With the friendly socialist countries of Korea, Romania and Yugoslavia, we maintain close cooperation and are steadily strengthening and developing ties of unity and friendship. China and many other developing countries in the Third World sympathize and support each other, and have enhanced their cooperation in all fields. We have maintained good relations with many Western nations over the years.

We will never allow other people to invade us. Nor will we violate others' sovereignty and territorial integrity. Now, some people in the world erroneously believe that China needs something from them and vainly expect China to swallow any bitter fruit detrimental to China's interests. Comrade Deng Xiaoping solemnly pointed out in his opening speech at the 12th CPC National Congress: "No foreign country can expect China to be its vassal. Nor can it expect China to swallow any bitter fruit detrimental to China's interests." This has fully demonstrated the principled stand of our country in developing its relations with foreign countries.

3. The Communist Party of China develops relations with communist and working-class parties in other countries on the basis of Marxism and the principles of independence, complete equality, mutual respect and noninterference in each other's internal affairs.

Our party believes: The communist parties of all countries are equal. Whether large or small, whether their history is long or short, whether they are in or out of power, they cannot be divided into superior and inferior parties.

We hold that all communist parties should respect each other. Being situated in different circumstances, all parties may have different views on the assessment of situations and on their own tasks. Their differences of opinion can only be resolved through friendly consultations and by patiently giving each other time. We must not judge a party's rights and wrongs on the basis of known formulated or fixed plans. We are in favor of all communist parties learning from each other's successes and failures. On the principles mentioned above, our party has maintained friendly relations with many other communist and working-class parties in other countries throughout the world and promoted the development of the international communist movement.

## PARTY AND STATE

### 16TH IN SERIES ON REVISED PARTY CONSTITUTION

OW030750 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 29 Oct 82

[16th in a series of questions and answers about the study of the party constitution adopted by the 12th CPC National Congress: "How To Understand the Three Essential Requirements for Strengthening Party Building"--by the General Section of the Research Office under the CPC Central Committee Secretariat]

[Excerpts] The general program of the new party constitution pointed out: In order to lead China's people of all nationalities in attaining the goal of socialist modernization, the CPC must strengthen itself, carry forward its fine traditions, enhance its fighting capacity and resolutely achieve the following essential requirements: First, a high degree of ideological and political unity; second, wholehearted service to the people; third, adherence to democratic centralism. These three aspects represent our party's main characteristics shaped by history and its fine traditions. They are also the essential requirements for strengthening party building under the new historical conditions. These essential requirements, spelling out the orientation for strengthening party building in a specific and concentrated manner, did not appear in past party constitutions.

First, a high degree of ideological and political unity. This requirement is the foundation of party solidarity and unity. It is also a guarantee for the party to fulfill all revolutionary and construction tasks. The general program of the new party constitution noted in this essential requirement that the CPC makes the realization devote their entire lives. This has a decisive influence on maintaining a high degree of ideological and political unity in the whole party. Our party must not only lead the working class and the people in the country to build socialism but must also struggle for the realization of communism. Only on this basic can our party maintain ideological unity act in unison in the protracted, complicated and arduous struggle to enhance its fighting capacity in effectively guarding against the sowing of discord and sabotage by the class enemy and in combating the erosion of bourgeois ideas. [as received] Only on this basis can we unite the broad masses more closely around the party to form a mighty revolutionary force in accomplishing the great undertaking. To preserve ideological and political unity in the party, it is necessary to uphold the four fundamental principles under the present stage. To achieve ideological unity, it is also necessary to uphold the party's ideological line of proceeding from reality in doing all things, of integrating theory with practice, or seeking truth from



facts and of verifying and developing truth through practice. If this ideological line is not upheld, it will be impossible to sum up historic experience in a scientific way and to oppose right and "left" erroneous influences in all forms, much less to ensure ideological and political unity in the party.

Two, wholehearted service to the people. This requirement represents the aim of the party. It emphasized first of all that the party must represent the fundamental interests of the broad masses of the people. It therefore called on our party members and cadres to correctly implement the party's programs and policies. It also called on party members to always share weal and woe with the people, keep in closest contact with them, and not to allow any member to become divorced from the masses or to place himself above them. By wholehearted service to the people, we mean that it is necessary to uphold the mass line and do everything for, and by relying on the masses so as to turn the correct party views into conscious mass action. Ours is an undertaking involving hundreds of millions of people. It is not a task that can be fulfilled by a handful of heroes or a few leaders without consulting all others. Only by relying on the masses can we overcome hardship and advance our cause.

Three, adherence to democratic centralism. Democratic centralism is our party's organizational principle. To uphold the principle of democratic centralism, it is necessary for us to fully develop democracy inside the party and to achieve a high level of centralism on the basis of democracy. Therefore, it can be said that both democracy and democratic centralism are important and inseparable. To uphold the principle of democratic centralism, it is necessary to strengthen organization and the sense of discipline, to correctly carry out criticism and self-criticism in the party's political life and to wage an ideological struggle over matters of principle in order to achieve the goal of adhering to the truth and rectifying mistakes. We must apply the principle that all members are equally subject to party discipline. The party duly criticizes or punishes those members who violate party discipline and expels those who persist in opposing and harming the party so as to purify the party organizations. If we can do all this, democratic centralism in our party will be greatly enhanced.

The three essential requirements for strengthening party building embodied in the general program of the new party constitution are organically linked with one another. A high degree of ideological and political unity is the foundation of party solidarity and unity. Wholehearted service to the people is our party's basic stand and aim. Adherence to democratic centralism is a sure guarantee for realizing the abovementioned two essential requirements. The three essential requirements stressed in the general program in the new party constitution are basically identical in spirit with regard to the three great styles of work summed up by our party in the past--integrating theory with practice, maintaining close contact with the masses and self-criticism. This spirit has also been developed and supplemented to become realistically important. Our party is now leading the people of all nationalities to engage in socialist modernization. This is a great undertaking never before engaged in by our predecessors. To ensure smooth progress in this undertaking, we must raise the quality of party members and enhance the fighting capacity

of party organizations. The present state of affairs in the party organization is quite incompatible with the party's historic tasks; decentralism and liberalism remain serious in many party organizations where undemocratic practices and the party's aim, some party members and cadres used public office for private gain, enriched themselves at the expense of the public interest and ganged up in self-seeking pursuit. They also sought special privileges and did things through the back door. All these aroused mass opposition, thereby hampering the implementation of fighting capacity. To raise the quality of party members and to enhance the party's fighting capacity, therefore, it is essential to overcome the undesirable state of affairs mentioned above and to take steps to achieve ideological and political unity in the party, to foster the idea of providing wholehearted service to the people and serving them well, and to adhere to the principle of democratic centralism.

CSO: 4005/129

## PARTY AND STATE

### 17TH, 18TH IN SERIES ON REVISED CONSTITUTION

OW031429 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 31 Oct 82

[17th and 18th in a series of questions and answers about the study of the party constitution adopted by the 12th National Congress: "How Should We Correctly Understand and Bring into Full Play the Party's Role of Leadership?" and "Why Must the Party Carry out its Activities Within the Scope of the Constitution and the Law?"--by the General Section of the Research Office under the CPC Central Committee Secretariat]

[Excerpts] First, the 17th question: How should we correctly understand and bring into full play the party's role of leadership?

The CPC is the core of leadership in China's socialist cause. In the new period of carrying out socialist modernization centered on economic construction, the party's responsibility of leadership is even more important. Adhering to and improving the party's leadership and bringing into full play the party's role of leadership are the fundamental guarantees for building our country into a modern, highly civilized and highly democratic socialist country.

The general program of the new constitution clearly pointed out that the party's leadership consists mainly of political, ideological and organizational leadership, that the party must formulate and implement correct lines, principles and policies and perform well its organizational, propaganda and educational work and that it must bring into play the role of all party members as vanguards and models in all work and social life. This gives a clear answer to the question: What are the party's leadership and the necessary correct principles and methods for exercising the party's leadership?

The party's position of leadership in the country's political life decides that the party must exercise leadership over all non-party organizations and all aspects of work. However, the party is not an organization for issuing orders to the masses. The party's leadership over all non-party organizations and the masses of people consists mainly of political and ideological leadership, namely, leadership in correct political and ideological lines and principles and policies.

The party's political and ideological leadership must be guaranteed by organizational leadership. To bring into play the party's role of organizational leadership, it is first of all necessary for the party to strengthen its own building and do a good job in educating, improving, managing and supervising the party members and in training, promoting, reassigning and managing cadres.

The party's leadership also relies on the party members' role as vanguards and models. Besides the resolute implementation by the party's organizations at all levels and the broad masses of party members, the correct lines, principles and policies formulated by the party must be extensively and penetratingly propagated and expounded among the broad masses. It is also necessary to influence and unite the masses with party members' model actions and turn the party's lines, principles and policies into the ideology and actions of the broad masses. This is an important condition for implementing the party's role of leadership.

To adhere to and improve the party's leadership in the new historical period, it is imperative to do a good job in solving the issue of the proper division of work among the party, the government and enterprise. It is necessary to see that our party is the vanguard of the working class and a party that leads a large country with a population of 1 billion. By no means should the party turn itself into an ordinary administrative office, a mass organization or a production unit. The party should stand at a higher level and take a more far-sighted view and strive to solve issues of an orientational and fundamental nature. Party organizations and the party's leading cadres should not, and cannot possibly, take up all heavy and concrete professional work.

The following is the 18th question: Why must the party carry out its activities within the scope of the constitution and the law?

The general program of the new party constitution clearly stipulated that the party must carry out its activities within the scope of the constitution and the law. This is an important principle which must be adhered to in strengthening party building and correctly bringing into play the party's role as the core in the country's political life. It is also a correct conclusion reached after summing up the tragic experiences in the Great Cultural Revolution. It is a content that has never appeared in the previous party constitutions.

Why must the party carry out its activities within the scope of the constitution and the law? The reasons for this are:

1. The constitution and the law were formulated by the highest organ of state power under the leadership of the party on the basis of fully developed democracy. They not only reflect the will and interests of the people throughout the country but also manifest the party's policy and proposition. They are vested with an extreme authority. The party has the obligation and duty to lead the people faithfully and seriously implement the constitution and law. It must first take the lead in implementing them in an exemplary manner. Meantime, the constitution and the law have the characteristics of being mandatorily implemented, and no organizations or individuals are allowed to violate them. Being a part of the people, the party is of course no exception.

2. The constitution and the law are the country's fundamental law and the norm for the people's conduct. They are a concentrated manifestation and concrete embodiment of the party's lines, principles and policies. Therefore, carrying out activities within the scope of the constitution and the law and adhering to the party's programs, lines, principles and policies are consistent with each other. If the party's activities run counter to the constitution and the law, it means that the party negates its own programs, lines, principles and policies.

3. Carrying out activities beyond the scope of the constitution and the law will inevitably bring harm to the party's cause and to the people's interests. During the Great Cultural Revolution, the Lin Biao-Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary clique instigated anarchism and unscrupulously destroyed state organs and party organizations, turning the constitution into a blank piece of paper, openly trampling on the law, depriving citizens of their right to personal safety, placing the entire society into a chaotic situation with no legal system and bringing a tremendous catastrophe to the people throughout the country. Such a lesson is really most impressive. Since the smashing of the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique, committee, the party has engaged in developing socialist democracy and perfecting socialist legal system and thus put an end to the above-mentioned extremely abnormal situation. However, because of the fact that the pernicious influence of the Lin Biao-Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique has not been thoroughly eliminated, there still remains a considerable number of party members, including some responsible party cadres, who failed to fully understand the importance of building the legal system, and there still exist in some spheres situations in which laws either are not adhered to or are not strictly implemented, and situations in which laws have not been fully observed or carried out since their formulation. Such situations must be resolutely changed in accordance with the new party constitution.

As the socialist cause is advancing continuously and the situation is changing incessantly, laws should also be perfected continuously. If a certain stipulation under the law no longer suits the situation, or defects and shortcomings are discovered in such a stipulation, the party may make proposals and lead the organ of state power to revise it or formulate a new one through normal legal procedures. However, before the revision or formulation, such a stipulation shall not be violated.

CSO: 4005/129

## PARTY AND STATE

### 19TH, 20TH IN SERIES ON REVISED CPC CONSTITUTION

OW042050 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 1 Nov 82

[Nineteenth and Twentieth in a series of questions and answers on the study of the party constitution adopted by the 12th National CPC Congress: "Who Can Apply for CPC Membership? What Are the Advanced Qualities of Communist Party Members as Vanguard Fighters of the Working Class?"--by the General Section of the Research Office under the CPC Central Committee Secretariat]

[Excerpts] The 19th question is: Who can apply for CPC membership?

Article 1 of the new party constitution stipulates: Any Chinese worker, peasant, member of the armed forces, intellectual or any other revolutionary who has reached the age of 18, accepts the party's program and constitution and is willing to join and work actively in one of the party organizations, carry out the party's decision and pay party membership dues regularly may apply for membership in the CPC.

In accordance with this stipulation, any Chinese workers, peasant, member of the armed forces, intellectual or any other revolutionary who applies for CPC membership must have the following qualifications:

1. One who applies for CPC membership must have reached or be above the age of 18. This is because people generally come of age after reaching the age of 18; only after reaching this age can they make relatively sound political judgment and have a definite political faith.
2. One who applies for CPC membership must accept the party's program and constitution. By accepting the party's program and constitution, it not only means orally accepting and supporting the party's program and constitution but, more importantly, having the determination to take action in implementing them.
3. One who applies for CPC membership must be willing to join and work actively in one of the party organizations and carry out the party's decisions. If party members do not join and work actively in one of the party organizations and carry out the party's decisions, the party would become a free, loose club, not an advanced, organized force of the proletariat. Only by upholding this principle can the party become a strong, organized fighting force which acts in unison.

4. One who applies for CPC membership must be willing to pay membership dues regularly. Paying membership dues is a reflection of a party member's concern for the party's cause and of his sense of party organization.

The 20th question is: What are the advanced qualities of Communist Party members as vanguard fighters of the working class?

Article 2 of the new party constitution stipulates: CPC members are vanguard fighters of the Chinese working class with communist consciousness.

Communist Party members, as vanguard fighters of the working class, must have a communist consciousness and their main advanced qualities are:

1. They have firm faith in communism. When admitted to the party, they took the oath that they would fight for communism throughout their lives. A Communist Party member must realize that the communist social system is the most ideal, reasonable and beautiful social system since the dawn of history, the inevitable outcome of social development. Firmly convinced that communism will be victorious, he must be determined to fight for communism throughout his life. At the same time, a Communist Party member should also understand that communism is a most difficult cause which can be accomplished only through a protracted struggle. Therefore, he must indomitably and heroically fight for the realization of communism.

2. They guide their actions with communist ideology. While making efforts to carry out their present tasks, Communist Party members must firmly keep the great communist goal in mind and link their present tasks with their ultimate goal. Building a modern socialist country at present is a necessary stage of communist development. Communist Party members must uphold the system of distribution according to work and other socialist systems in the economic field and social life. Moreover, Communist Party members must be more farsighted than others, firmly take a communist attitude toward labor and carry forward the communist spirit.

3. They play an exemplary vanguard role in production, work, study and social life. Communist Party members should go among the masses and serve the people wholeheartedly. They should be the first to bear hardship, the last to enjoy comforts and win the trust and support of the masses with actual deeds.

CSO: 4005/129

## PARTY AND STATE

### 21ST, 23D IN SERIES ON PARTY CONSTITUTION

OW050021 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 2 Nov 82

[21st and 23d in a series of questions and answers about the study of the party constitution adopted by the 12th party congress: "Why Should CPC Members Be at all Times Ordinary Members of the Working People? What Are Party Members' Rights as Prescribed in the new Party Constitution?"--by the General Section of the Research Office under the CPC Central Committee Secretariat]

[Excerpts] The 21st question is: Why should CPC members be at all times ordinary members of the working people?

Article 2 of the new party constitution stipulates that CPC members are at all times ordinary members of the working people. In view of the change in the status of the party since leading the government of the whole country, this is a warning to, and a requirement for, all party members. Before the victory of the revolution in our country, the main question Communist Party members considered was how to carry out their revolutionary struggle to overthrow reactionary rule and seize political power throughout the country. To win the victory of the revolution, communists at that time were ready to make any personal sacrifice, including their lives. Therefore, very few of them thought about their personal interests and rights. To mobilize and unite large numbers of working people to participate in the revolutionary struggle, most communists generally acted as ordinary members of the working people and shared weal and woe with the masses, thus forging close ties with the latter.

With the victory of the revolution in our country, our party won the status of leading the government of the whole country. The party enjoyed very high prestige among the masses. As a result of the change in the party's status, some party members are liable to have such wrong ideas and practices as claiming credit for themselves, becoming arrogant and not considering themselves ordinary people--wrong ideas and practices which separate them from the masses. At the same time, they also have various opportunities and conditions to profit at other people's expense. Particularly, many communists, who are in leading positions in the government, may seek personal gain or privileges in violation of the relevant regulations and policies and forget that they should be ordinary members of the working people.



In fact, there are indeed some Communist Party members who use various opportunities and conditions to seek special political privileges, special economic benefits and special treatment in daily life. For example, some Communist Party members abuse their powers to seek selfish interests for themselves or their relatives, to make arrangements for their children to work in units with favorable conditions or study in institutions of higher learning, to occupy more housing space than they should, and so on and so forth. Thus, they have separated themselves from the masses and become special citizens. Some of them have even become bureaucratic overlords, sitting on the backs of the people, thus seriously damaging the party's prestige and affecting its relations with the masses.

Therefore, the stipulation of the new party constitution that CPC members are at all times ordinary members of the working people is of great immediate significance and will produce far-reaching influence. This will prevent party members from separating themselves from the masses by requiring them to act at all times as ordinary members of the working people.

The 23d question is: What are party members' rights as prescribed in the new party constitution?

Article 4 of the new party constitution stipulates that party members enjoy the following 8 rights:

1. To attend pertinent party meetings and read pertinent party documents, and to benefit from the party's education and training.
2. To participate in discussion, at party meetings and in party newspapers and journals, of questions concerning the party's policies.
3. To make suggestions and proposals regarding the work of the party.
4. To make well-grounded criticism of any party organization or member at party meetings; to present information or charges against any party organization or member concerning violations of discipline and of the law to the party in a responsible way, and to demand disciplinary measures against such a member, or to demand the dismissal or replacement of any cadre who is incompetent.
5. To vote, elect and stand for election.
6. To attend, with the right of self-defense, discussion held by party organizations to decide on disciplinary measures to be taken against themselves or to appraise their work and behavior, while other party members may also bear witness or argue on their behalf.
7. In case of disagreement with a party decision or policy, to make reservations and present their views to party organizations at higher levels up to and including the Central Committee, provided that they resolutely carry out the decision or policy while it is in force.

8. To put forward any request, appeal or complaint to higher party organizations up to and including the Central Committee and ask the organizations concerned for a responsible reply.

The stipulations of the new party constitution regarding party members' rights are fuller and more comprehensive than those in all the previous party constitutions. As far as these stipulations are concerned, the new party constitution is different in three aspects from the party constitution adopted by the 11th party congress:

1. The new party constitution includes special clauses and explicit stipulations on party members' rights, while the party constitution adopted by the 11th party congress only mentions party members' certain rights in passing.
2. The new party constitution restores and develops the relevant stipulations in the party constitutions adopted by the seventh and eighth party congresses.
3. The new party constitution includes this new stipulation: No party organization, up to and including the Central Committee, has the right to deprive any party member of the abovementioned rights.

Thus, it is guaranteed that party members' rights will not be violated.

The stipulations of the new party constitution regarding party members' rights reflect the need to strengthen party building in the new historical period. Party organizations at all levels and all party members must clearly understand the significance of these stipulations. Party organizations at all levels must respect party members' rights. Any encroachment on a party member's rights is a violation of the party constitution. Every party member must correctly exercise his rights and play a positive role in strengthening party building.

CSO: 4005/129

## PARTY AND STATE

### 22D IN SERIES ON PARTY CONSTITUTION

OW050533 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 3 Nov 82

[22d in a series of questions and answers about the study of the party constitution adopted by the 12th party congress: "What Are Party Members' Duties as Prescribed in the new Party Constitution?"--by the General Section of the Research Office under the CPC Central Committee Secretariat]

[Excerpts] The 22d question is: What are party members' duties as prescribed in the new party constitution?

Article 3 of the new party constitution stipulates 8 duties which party members must fulfill. The stipulations of the new party constitution regarding party members' duties make still higher and stricter demands on party members than those of all the previous party constitutions, and this is the greatest characteristics. It is manifested mainly in the following three aspects:

1. The new party constitution makes new demands on party members as required in promoting socialist modernization.

The general task of the party at the present stage is to unite the people of all nationalities in working hard and self-reliantly to achieve, step by step, the modernization of our industry, agriculture, national defense and science and technology and make China a culturally advanced and highly democratic socialist country. To fulfill the general task, all party members must take the lead in implementing the party's line, principles and policies because this is of decisive significance to the development of the socialist cause.

Judging from the situation since the 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, we find that some party members have not clearly understood the party's line, principles and policies, or have even resisted them. As a result, the party's line, principles and policies have not been implemented successfully. This is mainly because these party members have not studied well enough and their understanding has fallen behind the situation. Therefore, party members must seriously study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. They must study the party's line, principles and policies and make efforts to heighten their political awareness and deepen their understanding of the party's policy.

In addition, to build a modern country and promote socialist modernization, we must rely on science and technology. It is necessary to greatly raise the scientific and cultural levels of the people in the whole country. People in all walks of life must specialize in certain professional knowledge and skills. As vanguards of the working class, Communist Party members must certainly first raise their own scientific and cultural levels and specialize in professional knowledge and skills.

At present, most of our party members are poorly educated, and their professional knowledge is inadequate. This hampers our socialist modernization. It is necessary to resolutely change this situation. Therefore, besides stipulating the study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as in the previous party constitutions, the new party constitution adds to clause 1 under the article on party members' duties the demand to study the party's line, principles, policies and decisions and acquire general, scientific and professional knowledge.

To make China a culturally advanced and highly democratic modern socialist country is a Herculean task. We have faced, and will face, various difficulties and problems. Communist Party members must develop their indomitable spirit to lead the masses to advance. Therefore, clause 3 of the article on party members' duties includes the content of calling for party members to perseveringly execute the party's decisions.

2. The new party constitution makes strict demands on party members so as to thoroughly eliminate the serious consequences caused by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques' sabotage.

In the period of the "Cultural Revolution," the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques enormously spread extreme individualism and anarchism, fanned up factionalism, rabidly undermined the party's solidarity and unity, destroyed the party's normal practice and corrupted party style. After the struggle to expose and criticize the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques and the efforts to eliminate chaos and restore order in all departments, we have strengthened the party's solidarity and unity, gradually restored the party's practice and remarkably changed party style for the better. However, their remnant pernicious influence has not been completely eliminated. There still exist factionalism, individualism, liberalism, anarchism and other erroneous ideas among some party members. They affect the unity of some party organizations, where unhealthy trends seriously prevail. Therefore, the new party constitution specifically stipulates under clause 4 of the article on party members' duties: To uphold the party's solidarity and unity, to firmly oppose factionalism and all factional organizations and small-group activities, and to oppose double-dealing and scheming of any kind. The new party constitution also calls for party members to match words with deeds and not to conceal their political views or distort facts under clause 5 and to take the lead in maintaining public order, promote new socialist ways and customs and advocate communist ethics under clause 7. These stipulations will help eliminate the serious consequences caused by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques' sabotage, further strengthen the party's solidarity and unity and thoroughly change party style for the better.

3. The new party constitution makes specific demands on party members in view of the situation in the party's leading the whole country's political power.

The previous party constitutions stipulated that party members fulfill their duties to serve the people wholeheartedly and maintain close ties with the masses, which has been included in the general program and article 2 of the new party constitution. While our party is in power, some Communist Party members forget to serve the people wholeheartedly, which is a party member's purpose. They do not know how to correctly handle the relationship between their personal interests and the interests of the party and the people. They even seek personal interests at the expense of the party's interests, and infringe upon the masses' rights and interests by exercising the power they hold and taking advantage of various opportunities and conditions.

Therefore, the new party constitution, under the article on party members' duties, stipulated: Party members should adhere to the principle that the interests of the party and the people stand above everything, subordinate their personal interests to the interests of the party and the people, be the first to bear hardships and the last to enjoy comfort, work selflessly for the public interest, and absolutely never use public office for personal gain or benefit themselves at the expense of the public. Thus, the demand on party members to serve the people wholeheartedly becomes more specific, and there is no mistaking what the demand is aimed at.

In short, the new party constitution has much new content concerning party members' duties added to it. It makes specific stipulations particularly on strengthening study, maintaining the party's solidarity and unity and correctly handling the relationship between personal interests and the interests of the party and the masses and sets still higher and stricter demands. This is determined by the position which our party is in at the helm of the state and by the Herculean task facing our party. This is needed to strengthen party building and persistently improve party leadership in the new historical period.

CSO: 4005/129

## PARTY AND STATE

24TH, 25TH IN SERIES ON NEW CPC CONSTITUTION

OW051347 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 4 Nov 82

[Twentieth-fourth and 25th in a series of questions and answers about the study of the party constitution adopted by the 12th party congress: "How To Develop New Party Members and What Should We Pay Attention to?" and "Why Is There a Probationary Period for Probationary Party Members and What Is the Significance of a Probationary Party Member Taking an Admission Oath in Front of the Party Flag?"--by the General Section of the Research Office under the CPC Central Committee Secretariat]

[Excerpts] The 24th question is: How to develop new party members and what should we pay attention to?

The CPC is the vanguard of the Chinese working class. To realize the communist social system it is necessary to persist in prolonged struggles.

In developing new party members, we must be active and careful in our work. Only by actively developing new party members can we replenish the party with fresh blood and augment its strength; and only by adopting a careful attitude in developing new party members can we ensure the quality of the members and maintain the purity of party organizations.

In developing new party members, we must strictly adhere to the proper procedures stipulated in the party constitution:

1. An applicant for party membership must fill in an application.
2. An applicant must be recommended by two full party members.
3. The party branch committee must examine the application.
4. The application must be discussed by a general membership meeting of the party branch committee.
5. The application must be approved by the next higher party organization.
6. A probationary party member who has been approved for admission into the party must take an admission oath in front of the party flag.

In developing new party members, we must pay attention to the following:

1. In developing new party members, it is essential to go through the party branch committee. The party constitution stipulates: Only under special circumstances does the CPC Central Committee or the party committee of a province, an autonomous region or a municipality directly under the central government have the power to admit new party members directly.
2. The principle of individual admission must be adhered to. New party members must not be admitted in groups because only by individual admission can we carefully examine and evaluate the applicant and only thus can we ensure that the applicant meets the necessary requirements.
3. It is essential that the requirements for party members be met and that the quality of party members be maintained. It is particularly important to ensure that those who are to be developed for admission into the party conscientiously study Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought; unswervingly support the party's line, principles and policies since its third plenary session; assiduously study scientific, cultural and professional knowledge; set an exemplary role in production, work and other social activities; adhere to the principle that the interests of the party and the people stand above everything; resist corrosion by bourgeois ideas and the capitalist way of living; and are bold in fighting unhealthy tendencies and are determined to devote their whole life to the realization of communism.
4. In developing party members, the principle of collective discussion by the concerned party organizations must be adhered to. Developing party members is an important and solemn task. Party committees must hold meetings for collective discussion of applications. An application must not be approved by an individual or a minority of party committee members.
5. Unhealthy tendencies must be resolutely checked in developing party members. Since the pernicious influence of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary clique has not been completely eliminated, a handful of party organizations have violated the relevant principles in developing new party members. For instance, some party organizations have absorbed new party members under the criterion of factional affiliations or through personal favoritism. Some individual leaders of higher party organizations have arbitrarily instructed party branch committees to admit someone they have named. Some party organizations have even gone as far as using the title of party members as a commodity for trade. All these erroneous practices must be resolutely opposed and checked.

The 25th question is: Why is there a probationary period for probationary party members and what is the significance of a probationary party member taking an admission oath in front of the party flag?

Article 5 of the new party constitution stipulates: Those who have been approved for admission into the party must go through a probationary period before becoming a full party member.

During the probationary period, the probationary members are to be further educated and observed. Party organizations must organize the probationary party members to study Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, study the basic knowledge about the Communist Party and understand the party's line, principles and policies. They must also assign them jobs within the party and train them in work so as to enable them to master the key points of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought; enhance their understanding of the party and its cause; deepen their comprehension of the party's programs, line, principles and policies; acquaint them with the guiding principles for inner-party political life; raise their consciousness; and establish in them the basic communist viewpoints such as on organization, labor and the masses and the materialistic viewpoint of seeking truth from facts. We must ensure that the probationary party members are admitted not only organizationally but also ideologically. Thus, we can ensure that the new party members meet the necessary requirements for admission and maintain their quality.

Party organizations should observe the probationary party members according to their performance in the party's organizational life and practical work. They must understand the probationary members' political character, their faithfulness to the party and its cause, whether they firmly support and carry out the party's line, principles and policies, whether they implement the party's resolutions, whether they submit themselves to job assignments, whether they abide by discipline, whether they perform the party members' duties and whether they are fully qualified as party members. To ensure the purity of party organizations, those who are found to be inferior in political character, speculators, doubledealers or other bad elements must be deprived of membership and expelled from the party according to the party's organizational principles and procedures.

The probationary period of a probationary member is one year. The probationary party member must not be shortened because a probationary party member cannot be adequately observed and educated if the probationary period is too short.

Article 6 of the new party constitution stipulates: A probationary party member must take an admission oath in front of the party flag.

The oath reads: It is my will to join the CPC, uphold the party's program, observe the provisions of the party constitution, fulfill a party member's duties, carry out the party's decisions, strictly observe party discipline, guard party secrets, be loyal to the party, work hard, fight for communism throughout my life, be ready at all times to sacrifice my all for the party and the people, and never betray the party.

The admission oath marks the beginning of a party member's political life and is an extremely solemn matter. Facts have shown that the admission oath ceremony is a form of party education for party members and also a form of self-education by party members. Through such education, every party member will bear firmly in mind the party's demand on him and will not forget his pledge. He will also raise his responsibility and conscientiousness for the cause of the party, strive to realize his pledge by deeds and dedicate his whole life to the realization of communism.

CSO: 4005/129



## PARTY AND STATE

### 26TH, 27TH, 28TH IN SERIES ON CPC CONSTITUTION

OW090111 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 5 Nov 82

[Twenty-sixth, 27th and 28th in a series of questions and answers about the study of the party constitution adopted by the 12th CPC Central Committee Secretariat]

[Excerpts] The 26th question is: What is the difference between a probationary member and a full member and how can a probationary member be transferred to full membership?

The difference between a probationary member and a full member in regular party activities is that a probationary member does not have the right to vote, elect or stand for election as a full member. This is because as a new member, a probationary member has achieved only preliminary understanding of the party and its line, principles and policies and he is not very familiar with the guiding principles of inner-party political life. A probationary member must therefore go through a period of familiarization and study as regard to the right to vote, elect or stand for election.

During the probationary period, a probationary member must accept the party's education and earnestly study Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, steel himself in regular party activities, continuously raise his consciousness and boost his determination to dedicate his whole life to the cause of communism.

When the probationary period of a probationary member has expired, the probationary member must, on his own initiative, report to the party organization about the progress he has made in all aspects and express his determination to become a qualified member. The party branch concerned must promptly discuss whether he is qualified to be transferred to full membership. A probationary member who has conscientiously performed his duties and is qualified for membership should be transferred to full membership on schedule, or if continued observation and education are needed, the probationary period may be prolonged. If a probationary member has failed to perform his duties and is really found to be unqualified for membership, his probationary membership should be annulled. Any decision to transfer a probationary member to full membership or to annul a probationary membership must be made through discussion by the general membership meeting of the party branch concerned and approved by the next higher party organization.

The 27th question is: When is the probationary period of a probationary member started and how is the party standing of a member counted?

Article 7 of the new party constitution states that the probationary period of a probationary member begins from the day the general membership meeting of the party branch admits him as a probationary member. The party standing of a member begins from the day he is transferred to full membership after the expiration of his probationary period.

Why is it that the party standing of a member is counted from the day he is transferred to full membership instead of from the day he joins the party? This is because the party standing reflects a member's practical experience in inner-party life as well as in work. As a probationary member having no right to vote, elect or stand for election, the activities of a probationary member are restricted in inner-party life and work. For example, he can neither make decisions on certain party matters nor assume leading positions. Therefore, the new party constitution stipulates that the party standing of a member begins from the day he is transferred to full membership after the expiration of his probationary period.

The 28th question is: Why is it that every party member, irrespective of position, must be organized into a branch and must participate in regular party activities and accept supervision by the masses inside and outside the party?

The CPC is the vanguard of the working class with a strict sense of organization and discipline. This determines that every member must be organized into a party organization and must accept the supervision by the masses inside and outside the party. This is one of the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism on party building. By organizing into a party branch, cell or other specific unit of the party, it means that members must take part in regular activities such as studying party documents, discussing party policies and work, recruiting party members, discussing mass opinion and demands, exchanging ideas, launching criticism and self-criticism and so forth. By so doing, every party member will be able to accept party education, help other members, strengthen his sense of organization and raise his ideological consciousness and political understanding. He can also express his views on party policies and put forth suggestions and proposals for improving the party's work. He can overcome his shortcomings under the supervision of the party and the masses inside and outside the party.

Therefore, article 8 of the new party constitution stipulates that every party member, irrespective of position, must be organized into a branch, cell or other specific unit of the party to participate in regular activities of party organizations and accept supervision by the masses inside and outside the party.

CSO: 4005/129

## PARTY AND STATE

### 29TH, 30TH, 31ST IN SERIES ON CPC CONSTITUTION

OW090245 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 7 Nov 82

[Twenty-ninth, 30th and 31st in a series of questions and answers on the study of the party constitution adopted by the 12th CPC Congress: "Why Is It That Party Members Are Free To Withdraw From the Party and How To Handle the Question of Withdrawal?" "What Kind of Persons Should Be Persuaded To Withdraw From the Party and What Is the Difference Between Persuading a Member To Withdraw From the Party and Expelling a Member From the Party?" and "What Are the Basic Principles of the Party's Democratic Centralism?"--by the General Section of the Research Office under the CPC Central Committee Secretariat]

[Excerpts] The 29th question is: Why is it that party members are free to withdraw from the party and how to handle the question of withdrawal?

Article 9 of the new party constitution stipulates: Party members are free to withdraw from the party. In other words, the party organization should allow a party member to withdraw if he no longer wishes to be a member. The reason for making this provision is because a person joins the party on a voluntary basis.

While party members are free to withdraw from the party, the party organization should not handle the withdrawal request in a summary fashion but should take the question seriously. This is because there are a variety of reasons that lead to a party members' request for withdrawal from the party. The party organization should find out the real reason and appropriately deal with each case on its merits.

When a party member fails to take part in regular party activities, pay membership dues or do work assigned by the party for 6 successive months without proper reasons he is regarded as having actually left the party organization and having given up his membership. In accordance with the provisions of the party constitution, the general membership meeting of the party branch concerned shall decide on the removal of such a person's name from the party rolls and report the removal to the next higher party organization for approval.

In dealing with the above case, the party organization must be careful to find out if there is truly no proper reason for the party member's actions that

call for the removal of his name from the party rolls. It should not take any hasty action on the matter in a summary fashion. At the same time, in day-to-day work, the party branch should take prompt but appropriate actions to educate and help a party member who fails to take part in regular party activities, pay membership dues or do work assigned by the party. It should not wait until he has done so for 6 successive months and then take action.

The 30th question is: What kind of persons should be persuaded to withdraw from the party and what is the difference between persuading a member to withdraw from the party and expelling a member from the party?

Article 9 of the new party constitution says: A party member who lacks revolutionary will, fails to fulfill the duties of a party member, is not qualified for membership and remains incorrigible after repeated education should be persuaded to withdraw from the party.

Persuading a party member to withdraw from the party is an organizational action taken against those who are not qualified for membership and who remain incorrigible after education. Such cases shall be discussed and decided by the general membership meeting of the party branch concerned. If the party member being persuaded to withdraw refuses to do so, the case shall be submitted to the general membership meeting of the party branch concerned for discussion and decision on a time limit by which time the member must correct his mistakes or have his name removed from the party rolls. To be valid, all actions taken shall be submitted to the next higher party organization for approval.

Persuading a member to withdraw from the party is different from the disciplinary action of expelling a member from the party. The former is an organizational action taken against a party member who lacks revolutionary will or fails to fulfill the duties of a party member and therefore disqualifies himself as a party member. The latter is the severest disciplinary action taken by the party against a member who has seriously violated party discipline.

The 31st question is: What are the basic principles of the party's democratic centralism?

Article 10 of the new party constitution contains the following 6 points on the basic principles of democratic centralism as practiced by the party?

1. Individual party members are subordinate to the party organization, the majority is subordinate to the majority, the lower party organizations are subordinate to the higher party organizations, and all the constituent organizations and members of the party are subordinate to the National Congress and the Central Committee of the party.

2. The party's leading bodies at all levels are elected except for the representative organs dispatched by them and the leading party members' groups in nonparty organizations.

3. The highest leading body of the party is the National Congress and the Central Committee elected by it. The leading bodies of local party organizations are the party congresses at their respective levels and the party committees elected by them. Party committees are responsible, and report their work, to the party congresses at their respective levels.

4. Higher party organizations shall pay constant attention to the views of the lower organizations and the rank-and-file party members, and solve in good time the problems they raise. Lower party organizations shall report on their work to, and request instructions from, higher party organizations; at the same time, they shall handle independently and in a responsible manner matters within their jurisdiction. Higher and lower party organizations should exchange information and support and supervise each other.

5. Party committees at all levels function on the principle of combining collective leadership with individual responsibility based on division of labor. All major issues shall be decided upon by the party committees after democratic discussion.

6. The party forbids all forms of personality cult. It is necessary to ensure that the activities of the party leaders be subject to supervision by the party and the people and at the same time to uphold the prestige of all leaders who represent the interests of the party and the people.

To ensure the implementation of democratic centralism, the new party constitution, in addition to the above provisions in article 10, also contains clearer and more specific provisions in the general program and other related articles on the relationship between individual party members and party organizations and on the duties and powers of, and relationship between, lower and higher party organizations. These provisions reflect both democratic principles and centralism. The following are several examples:

1. With regard to the subordination of individual party members to the party organizations, the party constitution stipulates: Party members must execute the party decisions perseveringly and accept any job assigned them by the party. Every party member, irrespective of position, must be organized into a branch, cell or other specific unit of the party to participate in the regular activities of the party organizations. When, on behalf of the party organization, an individual party member is to express views on major issues beyond the scope of existing party decisions, the content must be referred to the party organization for prior discussion and decision or referred to the next higher party organization for instructions. No party member, whatever his position, is allowed to make decisions on major issues on his own. In an emergency, when a decision by an individual is unavoidable, the matter must be reported to the party organization immediately afterwards. No leader is allowed to decide matters arbitrarily on his own or to place himself above the party organization.

2. With regard to the subordination of the minority to the majority, the party constitution stipulates: Party organizations must keep to the principle of subordination of the minority to the majority in discussing and making

decisions on any matter. Serious consideration should be given to the differing views of a minority. In the case of a controversy over a major issue in which supporters of the opposing views are nearly equal in number, except in emergencies where action must be taken in accordance with the majority view, a decision should be put off to allow for further investigation, study and exchange of opinions followed by another discussion. If still no decision can be made, the controversy should be reported to the next higher party organization for ruling. In the case of a disagreement with a party decision or policy, party members may make reservations and present their views to party organizations at higher levels up to and including the Central Committee, provided that they resolutely carry out the decision or policy while it is in force.

3. With regard to the subordination of the lower party organizations to the higher party organizations, the party constitution stipulates: Lower party organizations must firmly implement the decisions of higher party organizations. If lower organizations consider that any decision of higher organizations do not suit actual conditions in their localities or departments, they may request modification. If the higher organizations insist on their original decision, the lower organizations must carry out such decision and refrain from publicly voicing their differences, but have the right to report to the next higher party organization. When making decisions on important questions affecting the lower organizations, the leading bodies of the party at all levels should, in ordinary circumstances, solicit the opinions of the lower organizations. Measures should be taken to ensure that the lower organizations can normally exercise their functions and powers. Except in special circumstances, higher leading bodies should not interfere with matters that should be handled by lower organizations.

4. With regard to subordination of all the constituent organizations and members of the party to the National Congress and the Central Committee of the party, the new party constitution stipulates: The National Congress of the party and the Central Committee it elects are the highest leading organs of the party. Only the National Congress and the Central Committee it elects have the power to make decisions on major policies of the party. Party organizations of various departments and localities may make suggestions with regard to such policies to the Central Committee but shall not make any decisions or publicize their views outside the party without authorization.

All these provisions of the party constitution will provide a stronger guarantee than in the past of the implementation of the principles of democratic centralism in the political life within the party. It should be particularly mentioned here that, to correctly handle the various relationships presented above, Comrade Deng Xiaoping said that the most important is the subordination of the whole party to the Central Committee. Only when the whole party is completely subordinate to the Central Committee, can the party lead all its members and people throughout the country to struggle for the realization of the great task of modernization. Party organizations and discipline inspection commissions at all levels should take severe disciplinary actions against whoever seriously violates this principle. This is because the utmost interest of the party and the people throughout the country hinges on the implementation of this principle.

## PARTY AND STATE

### TECHNICAL EXCHANGE, COOPERATION TO DEVELOP CHANGZHOU'S ECONOMY CARRIED OUT

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 28 Jun 82 p 1

[Article: "Over 700 Experts and Cadres Gather on Invitation To Cooperate in Solving Key Problems"]

[Text] Changzhou Municipality recently held its first scientific and technical cooperation and exchange conference, at which over 300 scientific and technical topics were posted in the hope of finding people to solve them. Over 770 experts and cadres from 85 schools of higher education, scientific research units and specialized factories throughout the nation participated in the conference by invitation and cooperated in pooling their efforts. By the time the exchange conference was concluded, 181 topics had been posted. These prospective items of scientific and technical cooperation, following the implementation of the method of compensatory transfer of technology, will be of clear economic benefit to Changzhou Municipality's capital construction. The establishment of contact between Changzhou Municipality and the various schools of higher learning and research institutions had been longstanding. Some 135 factories cooperated, one after the other, with 141 schools of higher learning and scientific research units throughout the country, completing 218 scientific and technical projects, having a very positive effect on the economic development of Changzhou Municipality. The more than 300 topics for which applicants are being sought are all key industrial questions of Changzhou Municipality. The successful completion of the 181 topics decided upon will bring about the satisfactory solution of key problems which a good many units in the municipality have been trying to solve for some time.

This list of selected topics for scientific and technical cooperation were all very beneficial for Changzhou Municipality's progress with getting a hold on name-brand products and the development of new products. For example, the experimental manufacture, and the technology of, the top-grade paint of name-brand diesel engines has already been posted by the chemical industry department of Lanzhou Paint Research Institute; once this problem is surmounted, it will bring about a new improvement in the external quality of diesel engines.

The successful completion of this group of scientific-technical cooperative projects will also have an important effect of improving the economic effectiveness of Changzhou Municipality. For example, if the project signed by the First Institute of the Ministry of Space Industry and the Changzhou Corduroy Cutting Factory to install and develop automatic stalling for monofilament

defects in corduroy cutting machines were completed and put into effect, each year the quantity of inferior cloth produced could be reduced by 1.5 million meters, increasing the national income by 400,000 yuan. Also, when the project taken on by Tianjin University to remake the One-Two amine technology facility of the Changzhou Petrochemical Plant it will, under the new circumstances of not increasing the energy consumption, enable the annual production capacity to increase by 40 percent, and production capital can also be reduced.

At this exchange conference Changzhou Municipality along with the municipal machinery bureau, chemical industry bureau, and radio industry bureau with seven specialized schools of higher education and scientific research institutes including Huadong Institute of Industrial Chemistry, Nanjing Institute of Industrial Engineering, and Shanghai Metallurgical Institute, also separately signed long-term technology cooperation agreements and set up combined bodies for scientific research and production. These combined bodies, based on the principle of mutual advantage, will engage in comprehensive cooperation in the areas of turning over the results of the various projects to one another, technical consultations and the common solving of key problems, the exchange of academic and professional intelligence, and the training of talent. According to the terms of the agreements, the various plants of Changzhou Municipality can, within a broad area, establish contact with the subordinate organizational structures of the unit they will be signing an agreement with for the purpose of cooperation and, with the assistance of the technical forces of our schools of higher education and scientific research units, serve in developing the economy of Changzhou Municipality.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### SOCIALLY, POLITICALLY USEFUL ACTIVITIES FOR RETIRED CADRES PROPOSED

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 28 Jun 82 p 1

[Article: "A Recommendation That Old Cadres Have More Contact With the Grass-roots Level"]

[Text] After the system of having old cadres leave office and go into retirement is put into effect, every year there will be a number of old cadres retiring from their original work posts. Particularly in this and the following year, in the wake of progress in the work of reforming organizational structures, a good many old cadres will be leaving office, retiring, or retiring to second line to live in retirement. On the basis of wishing to benefit the physical and psychological health of these old cadres, continuing to allow them to do whatever work they are capable of in the service of the party and the people is not only in agreement with the wishes of the cadres, but is also required by the enterprise of the party.

For a long time, our cadres have been accustomed to being very busy, and have not been in the habit of taking leaves. When they retire from their work posts, organizationally, the necessary conditions should be created for them to study and to continue to have some kind of effect. For example, some "reading classes" or "study classes" could be formed, organizing old retired cadres to read a few books in philosophy, history, and political science, and conscientiously form general conclusions on the basis of their historical experience, all in the service of helping our party and country work out their scheme for long-term public security. A number of organizational structures for advisory consultation groups could also be set up, at which experienced old comrades could be asked to offer their ideas. At the same time, it is positively recommended that old cadres have more contact with the grassroots level, and make use of all means available to their circumstances to take part in all kinds of social activities, and go to units in the factories, schools, shops, and streets to carry on their investigation and study, and maintain a close connection with the masses. They can also write works of benefit to the people and to young people, or they can take part in some work requiring little physical exertion that is of benefit to society and earnestly, little by little, do something good for the people.

There are many advantages to be gained from old cadres having more contact with the grassroots level. They can, in the course of their contacts with the grassroots levels, come to understand a good many concrete, vital circumstances,

increase their knowledge, broaden their outlook, and become able, in a flesh-and-blood way, to maintain political unanimity with the Central Committee with regard to the party's line, programs, and policies. They can discover some problems and, at the same time, offer their ideas and suggestions to cadres at the grassroots level, which will be helpful in improving grassroots-level work. Through being able to discover good model examples, and assisting lower echelon comrades in forming general conclusions and broadening their experience in a timely way, they will be able to promote, and give impetus to, grassroots-level work. Our old cadres, with their several decades of work experience, possess comparatively rich work and leadership experience. Their displaying the excellent traditions and practices of the party, immersing themselves in the grassroots level, coming into contact with reality, and forming a connection with the masses, all serve as excellent means of passing on experience and setting a good example for young cadres in positions of power, and will all have a positive effect on promoting an intimate relationship between the party and the masses, between cadres and the masses, and on rectifying party practices and practices among the people.

Although old cadres, in leaving office and retiring, have left their original work posts and no longer perform their administrative and leadership duties, nevertheless they have definitely not, either ideologically, politically, or administratively, retired in the same way. The revolutionary will and organizational discipline of any communist party member is not something that can be "retired" from; they ought still to be communist revolutionaries, and still bear the political responsibility of serving the people and being responsible for them. A good many old comrades, after leaving office or retiring, are still like old steeds in the stable wishing to gallop a thousand li, do not feel that their strength and abilities have come to an end, and are still enthusiastic about the enterprise of building our socialist motherland's material and spiritual civilization. Their high-minded revolutionary spirit is worthy of our close study. We must fully respect our old comrades who have left office or retired, humbly ask for their instruction, and warmly look after them and show them every consideration. What kind of work old cadres are able to do, and how they should go about it, should be decided by them on the basis of their individual concrete circumstances. If we allow old cadres to take part in too many social activities, and become bogged down in trivial affairs, it will not be the proper method for cherishing our old cadres, and in that way it will not be possible to really bring their potential effect into full play.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### APPEARANCE OF A COMMUNIST DISCUSSED

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 16 Sep 82 p 2

[Commentary by Chen Yizheng [7115 5030 2973]: "The 'Appearance' of a Communist"]

[Text] I often hear some people say: so-and-so looks like a party member and so-and-so does not look like a party member. What is the "appearance" of a Communist? I think that the fundamental point is, he endures hardship first and enjoys pleasures later; he lives to do more things for the people and, when those things are well done, he puts his body and soul into practicing the great ideal of communism.

Communist Zhao Chun'e [6392 2504 1230] would "rather fall down on a pile of coal, than lie in a sick bed"; so long as something "is done for the people," the harder and more tiring it is, the happier she would proceed to do it. She always thinks "I am a worker, I must behave like one"; once admitted into the party, one must "be a Communist in reality as well as in name."

Some say, a party member is a person too; if it is a case of enduring hardship first, one has already "suffered" long ago; if it is a case of enjoying pleasures later, when is "later"? These words are totally wrong! A Communist is a person "made of special stuff"; he must struggle throughout his life for the Communist cause. A party member also has his own cultural and material life; but he must keep in mind first of all the masses and never enjoy pleasures before the masses, and never struggle with the masses for those pleasures. If one spends a great deal of time thinking about one's house, one's children, one's tickets--"thinking over and over of nothing else but minor advantages," what "appearance" such a party member would have?!

When the masses criticize so-and-so looking like one and so-and-so not looking like one, this explains that the "appearance" of a party member has already left a clear impression in the people's minds. Each party member must doubly treasure the image of the party, serve as a good example everywhere, and make the masses trust the party even more.

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CSO: 4005/59

## PARTY AND STATE

### FORMULATION OF LOCAL REGULATIONS REPORTED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 4 Oct 82 p 3

[Report: "In Order to Protect and Promote the Construction of Socialist Modernization--Various Provinces, Municipalities, and Autonomous Regions Formulate a Batch of Local Laws and Rules"]

[Text] Since the Second Session of the Fifth National People's Congress, various provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions of the country have formulated and promulgated a batch of local laws and rules in order to protect and promote construction of our socialist modernization.

This batch of laws and rules were formulated and promulgated by the people's congresses of those provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions according to our Constitution and relevant provisions of the "Organic Law of Local People's Congresses at Various Levels and Local People's Governments at Various Levels of the People's Republic of China" passed by the Second Session of the Fifth National People's Congress. According to available statistics, from November 1979 to the end of June 1982, the country's various provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions have altogether formulated and promulgated 296 local laws and statutes.

Of these local laws and statutes those of the economic field make up 37.2 percent, and among these latter ones there are the detailed rules of the implementation formulated according to the provisions of "Regulations for Environmental Protection of the People's Republic of China (Tentative)" and the concrete regulations for forestry protection formulated according to the provisions of the "Forestry Law of the People's Republic of China." Laws and statutes of the political and legal make up 30.7 percent, and among those there are regulations for strengthening social order and security, regulations for reinforcing market and price control, cracking down smuggling, speculation and double-dealing, and cracking down on serious criminal activities in the economic realm, and detailed rules of implementation for the Criminal Procedural Law. Laws and statutes of the educational, scientific, cultural, and public health fields make up 26.6 percent. Laws and statutes formulated by the minority nationalities areas also make up a definite proportion. Autonomous regions like Xinjiang, Tibet, Ningxia and Inner Mongolia and the two provinces of Sichuan and Qinghai have formulated supplementary provisions or expedient regulations for implementing the Marriage Law in the autonomous regions of the minority nationalities.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### JAPANESE TEXTBOOK REVISION SEEN AS BID TO REVIVE MILITARISM

Beijing ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO in Chinese 14 Aug 82 p 1

[Article by staff commentator: "Be on Guard Against the Return of Militarism"]

[Text] Thinking back to 15 August 37 years ago, there occurred a major event in the human world: the Japanese emperor formally announced to his country the unconditional surrender to the Allied countries. After a bloody 8-year war of resistance, in which they suffered over 18 million casualties (military casualties included) and lost over \$6 trillion in property, the Chinese people finally won a great victory in the war of resistance against Japan. The youths who passed the day of "August 15" and who personally experienced the wild joy of that hard-won victory are now about 60 years old.

Among the present generation of young friends, there are many whose personal experience of the internal disorder remains fresh in their memory; but as to what foreign aggression is, and what it is like to be invaded, and what fascist militarism is, I am afraid that, except for some impressions from seeing in some feature films the brutal actions of the Japanese bushido officers, they do not know much about these things--isn't this so?

However, it is extremely necessary and beneficial to remember the experience of history. How could we forget those 8 years of blood and tears, of extreme hardships and difficulties? In the whole period of the war of resistance against Japan, the Chinese nation's fervent spirit of patriotism was developed to the highest degree and the deeds of countless heroes still move and inspire us to this day. Under the CPC's leadership, we not only obtained victory in the 8-year war of resistance, but also created a new China. Today's China is becoming increasingly powerful, and changes have also occurred in postwar Japan. China and Japan have signed a treaty of peace and friendship, and it has become the common aspiration of the peoples of the two countries for this friendship to last for generations and generations.

However, no matter how good and honest your aspiration is, no matter how well this aspiration accords with the interests of the peoples of the two countries, the spirit of Japanese militarism has again publicly stood up and given us a lesson. The Japanese Ministry of Education, in revising its textbooks, changed the statement that Japan invaded China to the statement that Japan "entered" China; and the textbooks say that the "Nanjing Massacre" engineered by the Japanese invading army was the result of the resistance by the Chinese armed

forces. This kind of power politics logic can only evoke the incomparable indignation of the Chinese people.

Did these gentlemen of the Ministry of Education suffer a nervous breakdown, or did they misread the almanac? No, they consider themselves very intelligent. They are unable to restrain their desire to turn their fond dream of reviving militarism into reality. Their vain hope to continue deceptive education of the younger generation is extremely conscious, and they cudgel their brains in an attempt to beautify militarism by distorting history so as to beautify their ancestors.

But how can history written in blood be covered up by words written in ink? Your previous generation of "bushido" made innocent Chinese people the objects of experiments in biological warfare, made them living targets, tied prisoners to trees and dismembered them or cut them in two. You forced Chinese to dig their own grave pits and then buried them alive. You used barbaric methods, which caused even German fascist officers to say that the Japanese army was a "group of beasts," in persecuting the Chinese compatriots, such as rolling them in boxes of nails, pulling out their fingernails, branding them with hot irons, ripping out their hearts, and electrically grinding up living persons and eating human flesh (see "Verdicts of the Tokyo International Tribunal," pp 1,001-1,136). Hideki Tojo, Japan's number one war criminal, rose to power by being appointed to command the military police corps of the Kwantung army in puppet Manchukuo. On 15 August, when Japan surrendered and withdrew its army from China, the then army minister issued a secret order forbidding Japanese militarymen who returned to Japan from China to divulge the Japanese army's atrocities of cruelly injuring or killing Chinese people (see "International Trial of Japan's Major War Criminals, p 224). Not only historians but also the common people cannot forget these crimes. Don't imagine that you can wilfully distort history and practice an obscurist policy. Your era of the "Eternal Way of the Samurai" has gone never to return! There will be no days for you to practice the policy of "burn all, kill all, loot all" in your "benevolent paradise!"

Since the positive education of people and youths is insufficient, we should provide negative education for them. The war of resistance against Japan tempered the Chinese people and their armed forces and produced many heroes and outstanding figures. Much distress regenerates a nation, and in this sense, Japanese militarism--this teacher by negative example--"contributed" to this regeneration.

The workers in youth affairs and educational affairs of China should express their "thanks" to the gentlemen of the Japanese Ministry of Education! "Thank you" for giving us a lesson 37 years after the event. It helps us to heighten our guard and make us more clear-headed.

We must launch a movement to study, explain, and publicize the history of recent and modern times, using historical materials and teaching materials reflecting local conditions, and interviews of veteran comrades who went through the war of resistance against Japan, using history to encourage fighting will, so that the "three love's" teaching content will be further enriched and this movement will be launched more consciously.

## PARTY AND STATE

### SHAOGUAN PLANT STRESSES PROMOTION OF ENGINEERS, TECHNICIANS

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 10 Aug 82 p 2

[Article by Chen Chaoxing [7115 2600 5887]: "Boldly Promote and Freely Utilize"]

[Text] The party committee of the Shaoguan Iron and Steel plant, by conscientiously implementing the party's policy on intellectuals and continuing to select engineers and technicians to fill leading groups at all levels, has vigorously promoted the development of production.

Shaoguan Iron and Steel Plant is one of the major iron and steel enterprises in the province and has 665 engineers and technicians who have graduated from institutions of higher learning. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the plant has conscientiously implemented the party's policy on intellectuals and has paid attention to the utilization of technical cadres, taking a large batch of engineers and technicians whose technical level is high, whose organizational capacity is strong, and whose ideological consciousness is high and gradually placing them in leading posts at all levels. At present, 59 engineers and 22 assistant engineers in the plant have been promoted to cadres at the section deputy chief level and above. Among them, are 3 plant deputy managing directors and 18 workshop managers and office section chiefs. Technical cadres account for 18 percent of the plant's cadres, and 14 workshops, with exception of the scrap steel workshop and the tempered steel workshop, have technical cadres participating in leadership.

In selecting engineering and technical cadres, no matter what the seniority rank or the demand for perfection, the Shaoguan Iron and Steel Plant, provided the person meets the qualifications, is bold in promoting and utilizing. Over the past several years, the plant has promoted five engineers and technicians who have not yet joined the party to the posts of managers of important production workshops such as the coking and steel rolling workshops. These managers are bold in taking hold and managing well and they make the work orderly and rational. For example, Qin Xiuzhang [4440 4423 4545], a coking engineer, after becoming manager of the coking workshop, immediately organized the technical forces to make a thorough investigation of the two coking ovens in the workshop, obtained a large amount of firsthand technical data, and grasped the initiative in production, so that the workshop rapidly reversed its losses.

With regard to the engineers and technicians who have been promoted to cadre, the plant's party committee, "helping them up on the horse and accompanying them part of the way," adopted such methods as releasing them from production for advanced studies and giving them short-term training, thus continually improving their work capabilities. After Ge Hongyi [5514 1347 3015], a steel tempering engineer, was promoted to deputy managing director of the plant, the plant considered that although he thoroughly understood steel tempering technology, he did not have much of a grasp of enterprise management. Therefore, the plant sent him to the South China Engineering College for a half year of advanced studies, so that his enterprise management level was raised to a considerable degree.

After the large batch of engineers and technicians mounted their leadership posts, they greatly promoted the development of production. The year before last the plant reversed its administrative losses, and last year it reversed its policy losses. In the first half of this year, the plant showed a profit of 1.97 million yuan, overfulfilling the profit plan.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### INTELLECTUALS PROMOTED TO HIGH POSTS IN GUANGDONG

Guangzhou GUANGZHOU RIBAO in Chinese 14 Aug 82 p 1

[Article by Zhang Tingchun [1728 1694 2504] et al.: "Over 4,000 Middle- and Upper-Level Intellectuals in Our Province Enter Leading Groups"]

[Text] From an organization department concerned we reporters have learned: over recent years, 4,583 middle- and upper-level intellectuals have been selected to fill leadership posts at all levels in our province. After this large batch of middle- and upper-level intellectuals, who have both ability and political integrity, are in the prime of life, and have a high capacity for organizational leadership, entered the leadership posts at all levels, they have effectively changed the structure of the leading groups and have promoted the revolutionization, rejuvenation, intellectualization, and specialization of the leading groups.

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, party organizations at all levels in our province have unceasingly cleared away "left" influences; conscientiously implemented the party's policy on intellectuals; truly looked upon the intellectuals as an important reliable force for constructing the four modernizations; and, in promoting them to cadres, broken with the "theory of qualifications and record of service" and the "theory of class status" and boldly promoted outstanding elements among the intellectuals to leadership posts at all levels. Among these over 4,500 promoted intellectuals are professors, lecturers, senior engineers, and engineers, and also agronomists, chief physicians, accountants, etc. Of them, 81 are cadres at the prefectural or provincial department level or above.

After this batch of newly promoted middle- and upper-level intellectuals took their posts, on every front they worked hard, were modest and prudent, were full of vigor and vitality, and dispatched affairs with high efficiency. After Li Xiuhong [2621 0208 1347], sometime lecturer in Zhongshan University, was promoted to deputy director of the Guangdong Provincial Higher Education Bureau, he has been honest and upright in his ways, easy to approach, and steadfast in his work and has enjoyed the high opinion of the masses. Not long ago, Wang Pingshan [3769 1456 1472], a long-time educator and a teacher of special classification, was appointed secretary of the party committee of South China Teachers College. After his appointment, he felt that his burdens and responsibilities were heavier, and he was determined to do his educational work well so as to train even more human talents for construction of the four modernizations.

Many specialized cadres, after assuming office, rapidly opened up the situation by getting results in the management of the economic buildup. Lin Xingqing [2651 1630 7230], assistant researcher at the Guangzhou Geographical Research Institute, who is a little over 40 years old, after being promoted to deputy director of the institute, still maintained his deep involvement with the frontline of scientific research and, merging with the scientists and technicians, tackles key research problems on related projects. Recently, side by side with his comrades, he wrote seven valuable treatises full of original ideas, including "Tentative Ideas for the Comprehensive Exploitation and Development of the Zhujiang River Mouth Coastal Zone" and "Analysis of the Superiority of Guangdong's Agriculture." In the past, because of improper enterprise management, production at the Guangzhou Silk Cloth Dyeing and Weaving Mill fell year after year. In 1979, after engineer Gu Shiding [6253 1102 7844] was appointed mill director, he strengthened enterprise management, began an economic analysis, and managed his cadres well, so that the mill took on an entirely new look. Last year the mill's total output value reached 91.34 million yuan, over 34 million yuan more than in 1978, and profit increased by over 3.9 million yuan.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### PROMOTION FAVORITISM UNCOVERED IN GUANGDONG SEISMOLOGICAL BUREAU

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 10 Aug 82 p 1

[Article] "Provincial Seismological Bureau Ascertains True Facts in Promotion Malpractice Case"]

[Text] For days in succession, the leading party group of the Guangdong Provincial Seismological Bureau has held an enlarged meeting to discuss a case of favoritism in the promotion to high research posts. The meeting to adopting the policy of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient," launched criticisms and self-criticism, ascertained the true facts in the case, and distinguished right from wrong. Circumstances showed that this case developed to such a serious extent as a result of the support, investigation, and coverup on the part of the principal responsible person of the bureau. Everybody held that the criticism and self-criticism with regard to this case, and the correcting of unhealthy tendencies in the implementation of the policy concerning intellectuals, will certainly vigorously promote the improvement of the leaders' work style and the development of the bureau's work.

In September of last year, just as the bureau's work of recommending for promotion to high research posts had begun, this responsible person, in violation of the written rules and requirements of the Guangdong Provincial Scientific and Technological Cadres Bureau, supported Chen Jiachao [7115 1367 6387] and others in deciding, without authorization, on the cutoff date for promotion recommendation, thereby making it difficult for middle-level scientists and technicians to enter themselves for examinations. On 2 January of this year, when members of the party leading group heard three deputy researchers report on the situation pertaining to the bureau's recommendations, they discovered that Chen Jiachao and others had practiced fraud and had even torn up the written comments on an expert's thesis, that the recommendations did not follow proper procedures, and other problems, the party leading group of the bureau made three decisions: to transfer the work of managing scientific and technological cadres from the scientific research planning office to the political office; to entrust the three deputy researchers with the task of checking and approving the theses submitted by the candidates for promotion; and to set up a special examination and assessment group that would be responsible for the review and examination work in connection with the candidates recommended for high research posts. However, after only a little

over a month, this responsible person went behind the backs of the other members of the party leading groups and repudiated the group's decisions.

Bypassing the provincial department in charge of scientific and technological cadres, he hurriedly dispatched people with materials pertaining to 13 recommended candidates directly to the State Seismological Bureau for its examination and approval. The State Seismological Bureau held that their action was a violation of principle, and on 19 April transmitted a document to the lower levels, reaffirming that the work of promoting people to high research posts in the provincial seismological bureau was to be handled by the provincial scientific and technological cadres bureau and returned all the materials that had been sent to it. This responsible person brooded over this, and when the scientific and technological cadres management bureau telephoned and asked him what his next step would be, he was highly abusive: "This is an interference in my bureau's internal affairs." What is more odious is that, after this affair failed and was exposed, this responsible person instigated Chen Jiachao and others to make contacts everywhere, write letters containing false charges and anonymous letters, distorting the facts and attacking the deputy researchers who were handling the affair, and created antagonisms among the scientists and technicians. Comrades at the meeting pointed out that the reason he piled mistake upon mistake was because he would not listen to different opinions: not only did he not listen to the correct opinions of the scientists and technicians, but also he would not listen to the opinions of other responsible persons in the bureau. He clung obstinately to his own course and that was that.

Through his comrades' sincere criticism and self-criticism and help in the spirit of seeking truth from facts, this responsible person of the provincial seismological bureau has begun to realize his own mistakes and has made a preliminary self-criticism.

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## HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

### CHENG MING' ANALYZES DENG XIAOPING'S ARMY PURGE

HK081039 Hong Kong CHENG MING in Chinese No 61, 1 Nov 82 pp 7-11

[Article by Lo Ping [5012 0393]: "Deng Xiaoping Removes Top Leftist in Army"]

[Text] Wei Guoqing Openly "Criticizes Deng"

There have recently been changes of personnel in the Chinese Communist Army. Most noteworthy is the removal of Wei Guoqing as director of the PLA General Political Department, replaced by Yu Qiuli.

Why did Wei Guoqing step down?

This writer has recently learned from friends in top echelons that there were three reasons for the removal of Wei Guoqing as head of the General Political Department:

1. He adhered to an ultraleftist line and was on a collision course with Deng and Hu. He opposed Deng Xiaoping's line and his army-building line in particular;
2. He acted in collusion with Hua Guofeng and others. The whatever faction worked hand in glove with the ultraleftists. On the eve of the 12th CPC National Congress, he spread rumors and brought pressure to bear on the party Central Committee in an attempt to reverse the ultimate fate of being purged which faced the whatever faction and the ultraleftists.
3. He used two newspapers and one magazine, especially JIEFANGJUN BAO and SHIDAI DE BAOGAO (the latter run by Huang Gang), as a vehicle for creating public opinion in an energetic effort to spread ultraleftist ideas throughout the whole of society and the army. He was trying to expand his influence and consolidate his position.

The article "Communist Thinking Is the Core of Socialist Spiritual Civilization" by Zhao Yiya, published in JIEFANGJUN BAO on 20 August, was a great revelation of the opposition of ultraleftists in the army (including of course Wei Guoqing) to Deng and Hu. What shocked Zhongnanhai was the open declaration by Wei Guoqing himself: "Intellectuals' status has now been raised too

high. In fighting, we have still to rely on workers, peasants and soldiers." This remark signified a direct "criticism of Deng." Deng Xiaoping could not take it. In his capacity as chairman of the Central Military Commission, he made Wei Guoqing leave this important position of military power in the General Political Department.

### "Deng-wei and "Mao-wei"

After the founding of the PRC, Wei Guoqing, who first joined the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' 7th Red Army and who once acted as deputy political commissar of an army corps under Chen Yi, rapidly climbed the ladder of officialdom. He was for a time in charge of all party and government powers in Fuzhou. During the "Cultural Revolution," he again rose rapidly. This outstanding person of Zhuang nationality from Guangxi was appointed to control the Guangxi Xhuang Autonomous Region and ordered to support one group in fighting another. Fierce armed struggle was waged, resulting in many deaths. Guangxi was poverty-stricken and was known throughout the country for its pickpockets. Wei Guoqing, however, was good at exaggeration; in the party organ, Guangxi was described as a place blessed with phenomenal economic growth. He was especially good at swimming with the tide. Therefore, at the 9th CPC National Congress manipulated by Lin Biao, and at the 10th CPC National Congress controlled by Jiang Qing, he was appointed as member of the Political Bureau. He was transferred to Guangdong as first secretary of the provincial CPC Committee, chairman of the provincial revolutionary committee and the first political commissar of the Guangzhou military region (Xu Shiyou being the commander transferred from Nanjing). He was in the limelight. After Mao Zedong's death, the gang of four immediately came up with a programmatic article in a plot to stage a coup. The article, entitled "Always Adhere to the Fixed Guideline," was published in the form of an editorial in the GUANGMING RIBAO. Wei Guoqing ordered the NANFANG RIBAO to reprint this article. But after the collapse of the gang of four, fortune continued to smile on Wei Guoqing. He remained in the Political Bureau and also acted as director of the General Political Department.

Why was it that Wei Guoqing managed to maintain his high office in the party and the army during the past 6 years? Some people said that this was because in the later stages of the "Cultural Revolution," Deng Xiaoping "took refuge" in Guangdong. He received protection from Xu Shiyou and Wei Guoqing there. Some others said that Deng Xiaoping made it the third time in the "three ups and downs" of his career, amid obstacles put in his way by Hua Guofeng and others, because he won the support of a number of veteran cadres, and Xu Shiyou and Wei Guoqing. These interpretations may be justified. There existed a kind of relationship between Wei Guoqing and Deng Xiaoping that few people know about. In 1929, amid various uprisings in Guangxi, the 7th Red Army was founded. Deng Xiaoping acted as political commissar and secretary of the front committee. Under the 7th Red Army were three columns. The commander of the 3d column was Wei Baqun, who was supposed to be Wei Guoqing's elder brother, as they were of the same clan. (Editor's note: The 21 October issue of RENMIN RIBAO carried an article commemorating the 50th anniversary of the death of Wei Baqun, who sacrificed his life for the country.) At that time, Wei Guoqing was a little soldier under Wei Baqun, or under Deng Xiaoping. Wei Baqun had studied in the Peasants' Training Institute in Guangzhou. He

was Mao Zedong's "pupil." He was like a thread linking up Wei Guoqing with Deng Xiaoping and even with Mao Zedong.

#### One of the Big Backstage Supporters--Hua Guofeng

However, Wei Guoqing's thinking had never connected with Deng Xiaoping's. He was for a long time a "leftist." His thinking was quite in harmony with the whateverism represented by Hua Guofeng and could hardly be distinguished from the latter. Therefore, Hua Guofeng gradually became Wei Guoqing's big backstage supporter.

The following is quite an interesting story. When the all-PLA political work conference was convened in May 1980, Hua Guofeng, chairman of both the CPC Central Committee and the Central Military Commissions, and Wei Guoqing, member of the Political Bureau and director of the General Political Department, made speeches. The two speeches shared the same fundamental spirit. They both one-sidedly stressed "giving prominence to politics." Especially worth noting was that the two men called for vigorously "fostering proletarian ideology and eliminating bourgeois ideology" in the army. Hua Guofeng said: "It is hoped that in 'fostering proletarian ideology and eliminating bourgeois ideology' and changing social practices, the army can properly play its leading role." Wei Guoqing said that in the army, we must "energetically carry out education and wage struggle with a view to 'fostering proletarian ideology and eliminating bourgeois ideology.'" That the two harped on the same tune fully showed that the top man in the whatever faction and the head of the ultraleftists in the army were cut from the same cloth. Such "leftist" thinking ran counter to Deng Xiaoping's ideological line as defined at the 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee.

In recently years, Wei Guoqing's "leftist" thinking developed continuously and became increasingly opposed to Deng Xiaoping's ideological line. During this period, Deng Xiaoping energetically stressed that the army should be manned by people more revolutionary, more knowledge, more specialized and younger and that the army should be modernized and regularized. At the same time, he called on the whole party to pay attention to the role of intellectuals. Touching on the building of socialist spiritual civilization in some of his speeches, Deng Xiaoping underlined "ideals, morality, a cultural background and a sense of discipline." In his eyes, politics plays a very important role. But culture and knowledge are also important. This viewpoint is correct. Modern warfare calls not only for people's courage, their consciousness and their spirit of sacrifice but also their wisdom and talents, including certain scientific, cultural and technical levels. As far as modernized military equipment is concerned, no matter how advanced the weapons are, the development of their full might depends on the scientific level of the operators. Given the highly scientific nature of modern weapons and also electronics, lasers, infrared rays, space navigation and other increasingly new sciences and technologies, an army in particular cannot be modernized if it does not try to acquire new knowledge and new technical knowhow. But Wei Guoqing openly expressed his disagreement with these ideas as represented by Deng Xiaoping's army-building line. This found expression in three respects.

## Making Unauthorized Changes in Quotations from Deng and Freely Criticizing "Unrequited Love"

First, there were Wei Guoqing's own speeches in the army. There had not been many chances for Wei Guoqing to speak at various meetings in the army in recent years. Relatively typical was a speech he made at the all-army political work conference held in January 1982. This speech was entitled "Basic Conditions Concerning the Whole Army's Political Work in 1981 and the Main Tasks for 1982." In this speech, Wei Guoqing stressed "putting politics in command and ideology in the lead." He said: "Under the new situation, political work is still our army's lifeline. It can only be strengthened and must not be weakened." "The principle of putting politics in command and ideology in the lead applies to all work at all times. The more modernized and regularized the army the greater the need to strengthen political work." Throughout the speech, Wei Guoqing mentioned nothing about the study of cultural and scientific knowledge. This was tantamount to open opposition of Deng Xiaoping. As to what he said recently about downgrading the role of intellectuals, this involved problems not only of ideology but also of organizational discipline.

Second, some articles by JIEFANGJUN BAO and the General Political Department also reflected the "leftist" thinking of Wei Guoqing and others. For example, referring to the building of socialist spiritual civilization, an editorial by JIEFANGJUN BAO on 1 August 1982 dedicated to the 55th anniversary of the founding of the Chinese PLA also stressed "paying attention to ideals, morality and discipline," and said nothing about science, technology and culture. A directive by the General Political Department to the whole army released by XINHUA NEWS AGENCY on 25 August put forth this viewpoint: "The building of socialist spiritual civilization may be summed up chiefly as cherishing ideals, paying attention to moral principles and observing discipline." Deng Xiaoping had called for "ideals, a sense of morality, a cultural background and observance of discipline." But they cut out "a cultural background," calling only for "cherishing ideals, paying attention to moral principles and observing discipline."

Third, Wei Guoqing had in recent years let his righthand man, Liu Baiyu, director of the cultural department of the General Political Department, spread ultraleftist ideas through SHIDAI DE BAOGAO operated by Huang Gang. For example, in the "Remarks" introducing the No 2 issue of the journal this year Huang Gang, put forth an historical concept about "the 16 years since the Great Cultural Revolution." This was lumping together the 10 years of the "Cultural Revolution" with the 6 years following it, and lumping together the past ultraleftist line with the line of the 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. This was actually opposing Deng Xiaoping's line. Moreover, the spearhead of the attack on "Bitter Love" in 1981 was really directed at Deng and Hu.

### Wei Guoqing Not Allowed To Speak at Meetings

Deng Xiaoping discovered the problem of Wei Guoqing long ago. He also made known his views on the matter. But Wei Guoqing stood his ground. To reduce the influence of Wei Guoqing's "leftist" thinking, the latter was forbidden to



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Speak at important army meetings after August. Yang Shangkun was allowed to speak instead. For example, the first congress of advanced units and advanced individuals of the Navy in building socialist spiritual civilization, and the congress of advanced elements in the air force in building socialist spiritual civilization held in mid-August were both addressed by Yang Shangkun, secretary general and responsible person of the Central Military Commission. In 1982, Yang Shangkun wrote an article in Hongqi in commemoration of the 55th anniversary of the founding of the Chinese PLA. One point stressed in this article was directed against Wei Guoqing's erroneous thinking. The article said: "We must still take political work as our army's lifeline.... But it must be noted that our cadres' scientific, technical and cultural levels are far from being geared to the demands of modern warfare. If this situation is not quickly rectified, even if we have newer equipment, we cannot properly wield or skillfully exploit it. Still less can we take full advantage of its potential. Therefore, a pressing problem confronting us is to make great efforts to increased cadres' knowledge. The position and role of science, culture and technology in building the army have become ever more important and prominent." Yang Shangkun also said: "It is hoped that our cadres, and leading cadres in particular, will attach importance to science and culture as an increasingly pressing major issue. Beginning right now, we must regard it as a major issue of strategic significance in building the army. We must devote efforts to the matter. We must bring about a relatively big change in the scientific and cultural aspects of our army in the next few years." By "leading cadres in particular," Yang Shangkun was referring chiefly to Wei Guoqing.

#### Hua and Wei Willfully Create Chaos During the 12th CPC National Congress

The CPC Central Committee recently decided that in the next five years or so, a significant number of all cadres working within the party and administrative organs at the central level must have reached senior secondary school level, the professional level of a secondary technical school, or technical college level. From now on, those cadres falling short of the required standard cannot be taken on. Those cadres who now fall short of this standard must be given to periods of study and training on a rotating basis so that they measure up within a specified period of time. In the article, Yang Shangkun said: "This spirit similarly applies to our army. Moreover, as far as the needs of army-building are concerned, we should act more quickly and give a better performance."

In the past, the CPC Central Committee pointed out that there were three kinds of people that could not be allowed to remain in leadership posts. Now, there are five instead of three. In his report to the 12th CPC National Congress, Hu Yaogang said: "Those who started out as rebels, those who are seriously affected with factionalist thinking, those smash-and-grabbers, those who oppose the central line since the 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, and those who seriously breach law and discipline—who now still remain in leadership posts—must be resolutely removed." Here Hu Yaobang mentioned five kinds of people. According to this standard, Wei Guoqing, who opposed Deng Xiaoping, should of course be removed, and especially from his post as director of the General Political Department. But Wei Guoqing

felt secure in the knowledge that he had strong backing. He was going to stick to his guns. Moreover, on the eve of the 12th CPC National Congress, he let the JIEFANGJUN BAO carry an article by Zhao Yiya in an attempt to create ideological confusion during the 12th CPC National Congress.

Zhao Yiya, who was vice president of the Research Institute of Marxism-Leninism before the "Cultural Revolution" and who was transferred to the post of deputy editor-in-chief of the JIEFANGJUN RIBAO and director of the propaganda department of the General Political Department during the "Cultural Revolution," once encouraged the "dragging out of a handful of people from the army" and the spread of other ultraleftist language. He is now adviser to the JIEFANGJUN BAO. In an article, "Communist Thinking Is the Core of Socialist Spiritual Civilization," published in the JIEFANGJUN BAO on 28 August, he put forth several ultraleftist viewpoints. He purposefully mentioned only three of the four points concerning the whole effort of building socialist spiritual civilization raised by Deng Xiaoping, who called for "ideals, a sense of morality, a cultural background and observance of discipline." The "cultural background" was left out. His object was to negate the great significance of culture to the building of socialist spiritual civilization. This was actually setting ideals, morality and discipline in opposition to culture. It was held that culture was a matter of no consequence; without the development of culture, people with ideals, a sense of morality and an idea of discipline could be turned out just the same. An especially serious problem was his belief that the trend of bourgeois liberalization which had appeared in the past few years, was mainly due to laxity and weakness on the part of the leadership on the ideological front. He said: "The first reason is that individual responsible comrades in theoretical, cultural and press circles take the lead in supporting and publicizing certain erroneous viewpoints on bourgeois liberalization which run counter to the four basic principles. Moreover, these erroneous things are not checked or rectified in time. Thus, they will inevitably grow and spread. This is a very important lesson from experience." The article then made such of "ideological leadership" as a central link. What was said was chiefly an article "criticizing Deng," though not by name. It reflected opposition to the line of the third plenary session by Wei Guoqing and some cadres in the army.

Was it accidental that Zhao Yiya's article was published two days before the opening of the 12th CPC National Congress preparatory meeting?

A friend of mine in the know told me that on the surface of it, this was a "coincidence." Actually, it was a planned move. My friend said that this arrow directed at Deng and Hu was intended to create ideological confusion during the 12th CPC National Congress, so that certain people could fish in troubled waters. Meanwhile, pressure was brought to bear on Deng and Hu to make them yield in certain respects. By certain people, he chiefly meant Hua Guofeng, Wei Guoqing and other advocates of whateverism and ultraleftists. By certain respects, he chiefly meant the positions of the advocates of whateverism and ultraleftists in the upper echelons of the party.

Especially worth noting is that on the eve of the 12th CPC National Congress, Hua Guofeng openly advocated his idea that "practice is not the sole criterion

of truth." This viewpoint was based on the argument that "communist society has still not come into being, so has not undergone the test of practice, but the victory of communism is the truth." This argument by Hua Guofeng was openly repudiated by Hu Qiaomu and others. But it cannot be said that he had no influence at the level of the Central Committee. The spearhead of Hua Guofeng's opposition to the theory of practice was obviously directed at Deng Xiaoping and others. My friend told me:

"It was no coincidence that Hua Guofeng and Zhao Yiya's fallacies were trotted out, one after another, during the 12th CPC National Congress. It was a matter of timing. The top man in the whatever faction (Hua Guofeng) and the head of the whatever faction in the army (Wei Guoqing) harped on the same tune attacking Deng and Hu. Their sinister aim can entirely be imagined."

The publication of Zhao Yiya's article had a great impact on the Political Bureau. Hu Yaobang and Hu Qiaomu were especially indignant. Later Wei Guoqing was asked to conduct review of himself. Wei Guoqing knew that the situation was serious. He offered to resign from his post. Deng Xiaoping acted decisively. He unhesitatingly accepted Wei Guoqing's resignation. Wei Guoqing's fall from power was touched off by Zhao Yiya's article.

To eliminate the influence of Zhao Yiya's article and Wei Guoqing and others' thinking in the army, Deng and Hu ordered the responsible persons of the JIEFANG RIBAO to conduct self-reviews and public self-criticisms. Therefore, it was found that on 27 September, exactly one full month after the publication of Zhao Yiya's article, the JIEFANGJUN BAO carried an article by its editorial department entitled "An Article Marked With Serious Mistakes." This piece admitted that Zhao Yiya's article "is an article written under the correct title but marked with serious theoretical and political mistakes. Right on the eve of the 12th CPC National Congress, we carried an article that ran counter to certain important contents of the report to the 12th CPC National Congress (a report by then already basically finalized and referred by the Political Bureau of the party Central Committee in the first half of August to the 7th plenary session of the CPC Central Committee for approval—a fact known to the writer and the responsible persons of this newspaper). This is not only an indication of lack of prudence but also a serious dereliction of duty and a serious mistake both politically and organizationally." In criticizing the part in Zhao Yiya's article concerning the problem of ideology within the leadership, the article said that since August last year, Deng Xiaoping, Hu Yaobang and Hu Qiaomu had vigorously tackled the problem of laxity and weakness marring leadership work on the ideological front. Great efforts had been made in this respect over the past year or so. "However, today, one year after the forum, Comrade Zhao Yiya made much of 'ideological guidance' as a central link." It seems that he has not a very clear understanding of what is to be advocated, what is to be opposed and what is to be noted—all of which our party has made known in educational programs for the party and in open propaganda campaigns. With the leadership not in a clear state ideologically, we just cannot claim to have 'made things clear to leadership comrades at all levels.' This is entirely contrary to facts. It also makes people wonder what was the target this argument of his was aimed at." "As an organ of the army, this newspaper carried this article by Comrade Zhao Yiya. This

means not only that we publicized wrong viewpoints, but that we failed to set forth facts or reason things out. It means that we failed to point out the specific object of criticism, but instead made a sweeping attack on 'individual comrades' in this or that field of the whole party--an attack carried far enough to involve the whole 'ideological guidance' for the party. This points to an extreme lack of seriousness. It runs counter to the guideline and principles for our party's conduct of criticism and self-criticism in newspapers and magazines. It is especially unworthy of an army newspaper. Only ideological confusion will result. We cannot help feeling deeply that the publication of such an article on the very eve of the 12th CPC National Congress is really a very serious mistake."

#### Deng Xiaoping Resolutely Criticizes Wei and Opposes Leftists

The appearance of Zhao Yiya's article in the army newspaper shows that in the army there really exists the influence of "leftist" thinking. In the army, some old cadres are dissatisfied with Deng Xiaoping's line, principles and policies. In their eyes, what Deng Xiaoping advocates is revisionism. It is even held that Deng Xiaoping has gone further than Khrushchev did in the past. Like Wei Guoqing, these veteran cadres think that "with more intellectuals admitted to the party, the party may change in quality. With more people joining the army, the army may change in quality." Therefore, they discriminate against intellectuals. Some have stubbornly adhered to Mao Zedong's "teachings" and even Lin Biao's "directives," one-sidedly stressing "politics first" and "the human factor first" and rejecting the arming of the mind with cultural and scientific knowledge. Their fallacy is ideologically rooted in the word "selfishness." Due to their own lack of knowledge and low professional level, they oppose Deng Xiaoping's army-building thinking. What is this for, if not self-interest and the protection of individual rights?

A person in press circles told the writer that Deng Liqun of the propaganda department of the CPC Central Committee has been arranging things. On the one hand, he wants to continue organizing public opinion to criticize Hua Guofeng's opposition to the theory of practice. On the other, he wants to repudiate the fallacies represented by Wei Guoqing and the articles in the JIEFANGJUN BAO. The emphasis is on the latter rather than the former. My friend said that "it is believed that articles and certain persons' talks and speeches representing public opinion will soon appear in the RENMIN RIBAO."

I entirely believe what my friend has predicted.

At the same time that Wei Guoqing stepped down, it was learned that Commander of the Navy Ye Fei had also left his post. Was this a coincidence, or an indication of a link between the two?

#### Did Wei Guoqing Involve Ye Fei?

Wei Guoqing is Ye Fei's former colleague. The 10th Corps of the East China Field Army (also known as the 3d Field Army), led by Chen Yi, was the most powerful corps in the 3d Field Army in those days. The commander of the corps was Ye Fei and its deputy political commissar was Wei Guoqing (Zhang

Dingcheng being the first political commissar). It was at the time when Chen Yi had led troops across the area south of the Changjiang River. After 1949, Wei Guoqing took charge of all government and military powers in Fuzhou. He was chairman of the Fuzhou Military Control Commission, secretary of the Fuzhou Municipal CPC Committee and mayor of Fuzhou. Ye Fei acted as first secretary of the Fujian Provincial CPC Committee and concurrently governor and also political commissar of the military district. During the "Cultural Revolution," Wei Guoqing was transferred to Guangxi. Ye Fei acted as minister of communications. Wei Guoqing was lucky and made it into the Political Bureau. After the collapse of the gang of four, Ye Fei was left in the cold. Wei Guoqing on his part stepped into a cherished post in the General Political Department. Perhaps out of consideration for their former relations, he keenly recommended Ye Fei as commander of the navy. From this, it can be seen that close relations existed between Wei Guoqing and Ye Fei.

But a friend of mine close to military sources told me that Ye Fei's resignation had nothing to do with Wei Guoqing's downfall. Ye Fei had long been sick and confined to hospital. He had long ago made a request for resignation. Therefore, Ye's case was not related to Wei's.

My friend also produced a copy of the GUANGMING RIBAO dated 15 August as a basis for his information, or view.

The newspaper on that date carried Ye Fei's speech at a congress of advanced elements in building spiritual civilization in the navy--a speech not released by XINHUA NEWS AGENCY. This speech was published before the JIEFANGJUN BAO carried Zhao Yiya's article. There were several points stressed in the speech. Two of them were aimed at something specific. First, what Ye Fei stressed was the four words by Deng Xiaoping (ideals, morality, culture and discipline). This was different from Wei Guoqing and others' one-sided emphasis on politics as the primary factor. Second, Ye Fei criticized Hua Guofeng, not by name, for opposing the theory of practice, describing Hua's viewpoint as an "erroneous viewpoint."

Yu Qiuli's takeover of the control of the General Political Department was more surprising than Wei Guoqing's downfall. As everyone knows, Yu Qiuli has in recent years not been entirely in agreement with Deng Xiaoping and others with regard to economic thinking. His status in the State Council is now a bit lower than before. At the mention of Yu Qiuli, the people of Beijing would say that he is of the petroleum faction. The petroleum faction is a term synonymous with the lack of a down-to-earth approach.

However, Hu Yaobang recently visited Daqing and set great store by its achievements. This seemingly smacks of his desire to "reverse the verdict" on the petroleum faction. It is said that Deng and Hu hold that Yu Qiuli showed defects while in charge of petroleum work in the State Council before, but that he had not actually made ultraleftist mistakes. A clear fact is that Yu Qiuli not only attaches importance to political work but also pays attention to the problem of knowledge or specialization for those working in the petroleum field. This experience is also useful in army work.

Another important reason is that putting Yu Qiuli in charge of the General Political Department would not cause much of a shock. Yu was Zhou Enlai's "favorite general," and might command respect in the army.

However, some people in Beijing think differently. One view is rather strange. It is that the transfer of Yu Qiuli to the General Political Department by Deng Xiaoping was prompted by a desire to diffuse the strength of the petroleum faction. Another view is that this was an expediency, or a temporary arrangement of personnel.

At present, the problems within the army are rather complicated. There not only remains the pernicious influence of the "left" but also anarchist thinking. The clash between the idea of whateverism among old cadres, and Deng Xiaoping's line, cannot be immediately overcome. The noncommunist thinking among young fighters also puts obstacles in the way of "revolutionizing" the army. Of course, the main contradictions are still ultraleftist thinking and the viewpoint of whateverism. Therefore, Deng Xiaoping's current purge of the ultraleftist forces in the army is in order. It is believed that the down-fall of Wei Guoqing is the beginning of a series of anti-"leftist" moves. It is said that the two magazines JIEFANGJUN BAO and SHIDAI DE BAOGAO, which have come under the influence of ultraleftists and been exploited by them, will be overhauled ideologically, politically and even organizationally. There has also been news about another top leftist, Huang Gang, being expelled from his position of forming public opinion. Those in literary and art circles in Beijing were jubilant on learning the news. Some people enthusiastically hailed the defeat of Yao the Second. Some others also asked: Would there be Yao the Third?

No matter what, Deng Xiaoping's purge of the army is a good thing. If it is a thorough job, it means the removal of a time bomb, and there will surely be a greater stability in China's political situation.

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END